



THE  
L I V E S  
OF THE  
Twelve Cæfars,

Written in LATIN by

*C. Suetonius Tranquillus.*

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Translated into ENGLISH, with Explanatory NOTES, by Mr. *HUGHES.*

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*Adorn'd with CUTS.*

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In TWO VOLUMES.

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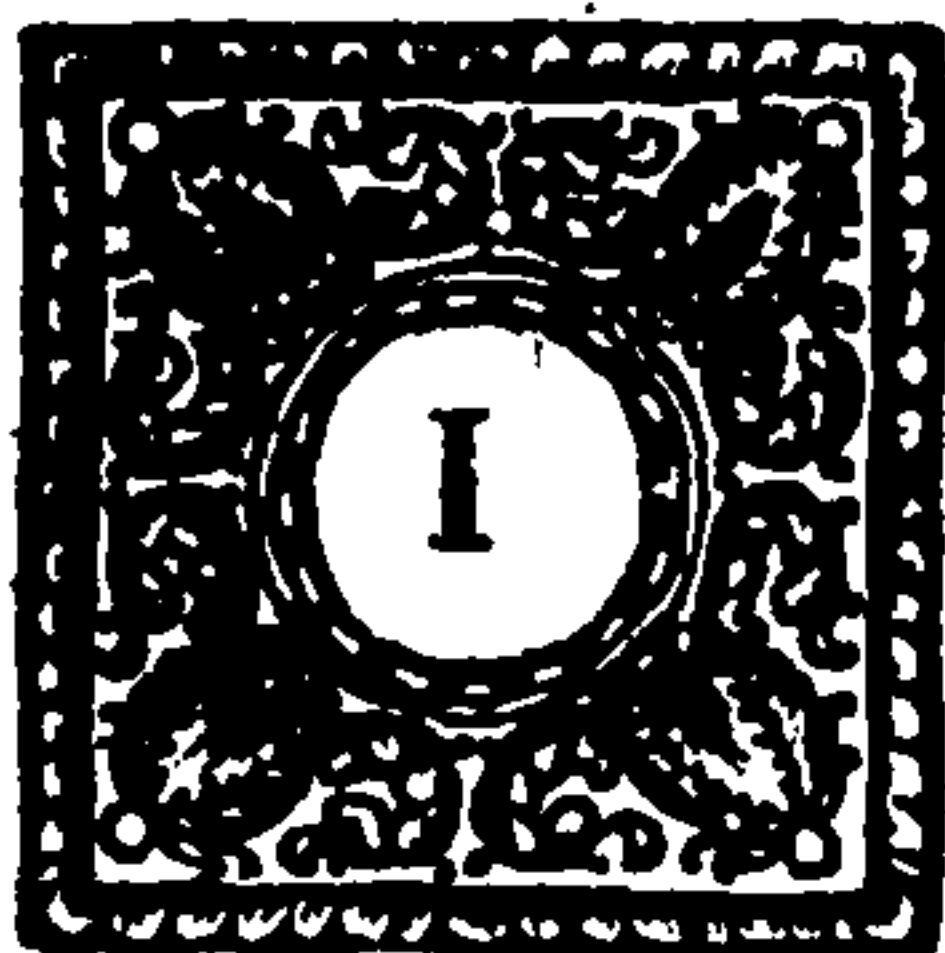


T O

*JOHN DUNCOMBE*

*Jun<sup>r</sup>. Esq;*

S I R,



KNOW not how it is, but ever since I first had the Happiness of Your Acquaintance, there appear'd Something so amiable in Your Conversation; that it gave me the highest Pleasure, and an irresistible Desire of declaring the undissembled Affection I bore You, if I cou'd, in some Publick Manner. I have also embrac'd this Opportunity the more readily, because tho' what I offer You is a Trifle,

A 2                      Your

## *The DEDICATION.*

Your Goodness will overlook the Meanness of the Present, and accept the sincere Intention from which it comes.

A graceful Deportment and a Politeness of Manners are very Ornamental in a Gentleman ; but neither these, nor Vivacity of Wit, nor Learning, and much less mere Riches and Birth can, of themselves, impart the truest Dignity and Merit. It is from the more essential Qualifications, a benevolent Spirit, a noble Integrity and Truth, and a serious Regard to the most valuable Thing in the whole World, I mean Religion, that his Character is made compleat, and he becomes a good Neighbour, an excellent Relation, and an useful Friend.

That You are eminently possess'd, therefore, of these necessary Endowments, is a far higher Commendation, than that You have improv'd the Understanding and good Sense to which You were born, by the Knowledge of Letters, and added to this the genteel Accomplishments of fine Breeding.

The Native Felicity of Your Temper is such, that all the complacent Acts of Friendship, and the Offices arising from the several Conditions of Life, are perform'd by You as well from the sweet Propensities of a benign Disposition, as from Principle : by which You justly partake  
in



## *The DEDICATION.*

in the Satisfaction you excite in others, and taste a Joy which a generous Nature only can experience ; and from which those are deservedly excluded, who can view the Distresses of their Fellow-Creatures with a detested Apathy, and wou'd rather contribute to impair their Happiness, than to advance it.

How exactly You fulfil the Duties of a Son, Your worthy Father is a surviving Witness ; and Your indulgent Care of Your own tender Offspring cannot fail to imprint the deepest Filial Respect and Gratitude upon their Mind : And, tho' the dear Object of it can no more speak the Praises of Your Conjugal Affection, You have a most sincere Evidence within ; and that beautiful Aptness to feel again the Freshness of former Grievs, declares how much her lovely Memory still dwells in that Heart of which She was once the living Joy.

While You have so many engaging Qualities, the virtuous Self-Negligence and Disregard, by which You overlook them in Your self, and freely discern and admire them in any other, heightens them extremely, and casts a particular Lustre upon the Whole.

The Track of Life You have chosen to pursue, is indeed retir'd from the Hurry and Incumbrance of Publick Stations ; but Your Personal Abilities and true Zeal for

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the present happy Establishment, render You every Way capable of executing them advantageously to Your Country, and You have given an Instance of it by discharging with so much Approbation the honourable Office You lately bore.

As I am conscious of my own Sincerity, I have no Apprehension that what I have said will be deem'd merely an Address of Form ; for there are inimitable Marks and Circumstances in Truth, which distinguish it from Fiction. And I thought this Way to express my grateful Resentments wou'd be the most inoffensive, because while a Man speaks in a *Dedication*, he is in such a sort absent, that the ingenious Uneasiness which would be mutually occasion'd by praising a Friend to his Face, is happily prevented.

*I am,*

S I R,

*Your most Affectionate, and*

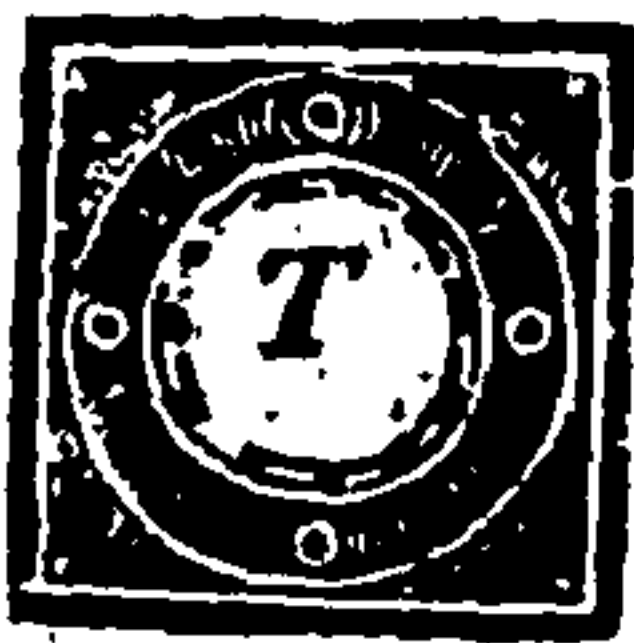
*Obedient Humble Servant,*

**J A B E Z H U G H E S.**





# THE PREFACE.



*H O' most Men are invited to read Histories, rather from Curiosity than from a Design to become Wiser or Better ; it is probable, they may, in the Conclusion, find themselves not only entertain'd agreeably, but also improv'd. A profess'd Treatise of Ethics, carries in it a Severity which very few have good Disposition and Sense enough to overcome ; and this Aversness makes us apt to neglect such Writings, and to call in Question the Assertions : But History addressing us with a more amiable Aspect, insensibly leaves a wholesome Impression upon the Mind, and, by representing real Facts, will not suffer us to dispute its Subject. If the Affairs also are remote, and such as in their immediate Consequences affect neither our selves nor Friends, we shall judge impartially, and view Things in their true and proper Light ; which the Prejudice of our Passions, and Self-Love, wou'd not permit us to do, if we apprehended our selves interested in them. On this Account, the Antient Historians are likely to be*

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*most favourably receiv'd, and are best qualify'd to perform the double Service of administering at once Delight and Profit.*

Of the several Sorts of History, Biography is perhaps most adapted to answer this Design: For tho' the General History of a Nation, being more extended, and necessarily comprehending in it a far greater Number and Variety of Events, may for the same Reason promise a higher Pleasure, and more diversify'd Entertainment to the Reader; yet the other, by being restrain'd within a narrower Limit, has this particular Advantage, that the Series of the Action is embrac'd by the Understanding with greater Ease, and the Instructions which arise from the most remarkable Occurrences in the Life of a single Person, are more directly and naturally apply'd, than when our Attention is dispers'd thro' the Affairs of a whole People. For in a General History we seem to be less affected in the Issue; the Multitude and Confusion of the Persons abates our Concern, and sets their Calamities and good Fortune at a remoter Distance from our selves: Whereas in reading thro' the Life of one Man, we as it were contract an Acquaintance and Friendship with him as the Story proceeds, and are touch'd intimately with the Vicissitudes of his Condition. The Writer is also at Liberty to insert many smaller Circumstances, and familiar Sayings, and Passages in Private, which discover a Man's real Temper and Sentiments more certainly than his publick Behaviour, where the Eyes of the World are upon him;



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him; and to enter into the Reasons of Actions more particularly than the Severity of a General History will allow. We have an Example of this in Polybius, who is very large in unfolding the Causes and Councils which gave Rise to the Actions he relates, and in his Observations upon the Nature and Influence of the Events: And tho' his Digressions of this Kind are excellent, and shew great Understanding and Penetration, yet the main Subject is so much interrupted by them, that the Reader is apt to consider them as so many Stops in his Progress, and to be impatient till the History is resum'd.

I will not determine what Method and Rules ought to be observ'd by a Biographer, or who has succeeded best in that Manner of Writing; but shall confine my self to the Character of Suetonius in particular, a new Translation of whom is now offer'd to the Reader.

It is a Witty Remark of Jerom's upon him, that he has written the Lives of the Emperors with the same Liberty as they liv'd them; and therefore, after his own Example, I shall speak of him impartially, praising him freely on the one Hand, and as freely mentioning his Defects on the other: for it is unreasonable to imagine, that a Man by translating an Author, puts himself under an Obligation to magnify his good Qualities extravagantly, and to justify or deny his Faults.

Suetonius liv'd in the Reigns of five or six Emperors at least, and was born, perhaps, in that of Vespasian, since he speaks of himself as a

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\* Young Man when the Counterfeit Nero appear'd, which being twenty Years after Nero's Death, must fall about the Middle of Domitian's Reign. His Father, whose Cognomen was *Lenis*, was, as he tells us in the Life of *Otho*, a Tribune of the Equestrian Order in the Tenth Legion, and fought under *Otho* in his last Battel against *Vitellius*. He was at first appointed to a Military Employment, to which his Father, it is likely, might design him by his Education; but not fancying that Method of Life, he quitted it for the Practice of the Law. Upon this the younger *Pliny*, with whom he had an intimate Friendship, made it his Request to *Trajan*, that *Suetonius* might have the *Jus trium Liberorum*, which gave a Pleader in the Roman Forum several uncommon Privileges, conferr'd upon him. This shews the extraordinary Affection *Pliny* bore him; because he knew the Favour he ask'd, was very sparingly granted by the Emperor, and that *Suetonius* not being legally qualify'd for it, as having no Children, *Trajan* wou'd be the more averse to allow it. But *Pliny* was no less in Grace with *Trajan*, than *Suetonius* was with him, and so the Request succeeded.

Under *Adrian*, *Suetonius* was promoted to be his Secretary; but the Empress *Sabina* falling into Disgrace, he, with some others, took too large

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\* Page 400 he calls himself *Adolescens*, and Pag. 493 *Adolescentulus*.



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large a Liberty in reflecting upon her, thinking to make his Court by it to the Emperor; but he had the Misfortune to mistake Adrian's secret Inclinations, and instead of pleasing, disoblig'd Him, and was remov'd from Publick Business.

Of all his Works this appears to have been the principal, and to have come most compleat to our Hands; tho' the Life of Julius Cæsar is certainly imperfect at the Beginning, notwithstanding all the Reasons Casaubon assigns to prove the contrary. For there is not only no Account in it of Cæsar's Descent and Family, according to Suetonius's perpetual Custom, which is a very singular Omission, and sufficient of it self to support the Remark; but also Nothing is said about the Birth of Cæsar, under what Consuls, and in what Place he was born; concerning which last Circumstance, we find him in other Lives rather too minutely particular: Nor is there any Mention of his Infancy and Youth, or any of his Actions till the Seventeenth Year of his Age. And this makes it open more abruptly than the Life of Galba would do, if the first two Paragraphs had been wanting. The Paragraph therefore which is now the first of Cæsar's, undoubtedly began, *Annum agens, &c.* and the preceding Introduction being lost, the Words *Julius Cæsar Divus* have been supply'd, to compleat the Sense. For I don't remember an Instance of Suetonius's expressing the Nominative Case in this Manner at the Head of a Paragraph, after some Part of the Person's Story.

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Story was past, as in the present Case it manifestly is.

In the Epistle which Pliny wrote on his Behalf to Trajan, he has given Suetonius the Character of a Man perfectly honest and of good Sense, and who had fallen into the same Course of Studies with himself. And as the placing the Merit of an Author upon a false Foundation, is not a Way to do him Service, it cannot be prejudicial to Suetonius to say that they have commended him from mistaken Topicks, who represent him, in the Work before us, as a correct and elegant Writer; whereas it is plain, he is rather distinguish'd by his Integrity and impartial Report of Things, which is a most essential Qualification in an Historian, and to which all others, how valuable soever, are subordinate. For upon this the Certainty of all History depends, which without it will become a Fiction of the most pernicious Kind; because it imposes a Falshood under the Appearance of Truth, and thereby introduces a general Doubt and Scruple concerning the Records of former Times. Suetonius is so punctual in his Relation, that he leaves us no Ground to suppose, he did not think himself well assur'd of all he has inserted, or that he has omitted any thing out of Adulation or Prejudice. He also expresses himself with such evident Equity and Temper, that every one who reads him will easily perceive it. He praises and censures, and reports the good and bad Actions of the Emperors without Passion or Flattery, and seems to consider himself



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himself only as a Narrator, and not as a Party. And from this an Observation may be made, which will very well deserve to be consider'd by us Englishmen in particular. The Memory of Augustus Cæsar was held in the highest Veneration by the Romans, and they esteem'd him as their Second Founder, and an admirable Pattern of a Wise and Excellent Prince; yet Suetonius mentions his Vices, his Cruelties, and the Blemishes and Male-Conduct of his Reign openly and without Reserve; nor do we find the People, or the Emperor under whom he liv'd, ever condemn'd him, or thought ill of him for it. For tho' the Romans were then extremely departed from the Virtues of their Ancestors, and were plung'd in a shameful Corruption and Baseness of Manners, yet they had still so much Sense remaining, that an Historian might describe the Faults of any Great Men or Emperors of former Times, without Danger of making himself Enemies, and being branded with invidious Names. The Civil Wars had undoubtedly involv'd the most considerable Families in their Consequences, and the Extravagancies and Oppressions of several Emperors had brought them to an unnatural End; some being destroy'd by their Domesticks, and others expell'd by open Arms, and the Senate and People approv'd and ratify'd the Deed. But the Romans never apprehended themselves involv'd in the Guilt of Actions, in which they had had no Hand; nor did they proceed to charge and exasperate one another with the Miscarriages  
and

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*and Errors of preceding Times, and preserve an eternal Flame of Discord and Hatred among themselves on this Account. In which, the Behaviour of the Romans and our own Countrymen under Circumstances much alike, is remarkably different, and the Conclusion from it is very easily apply'd. In the Reign also of the Worst and most Tyrannical of the Cæsars, we have no Instance of Writers exerting themselves against the Laws, or of Historians magnifying those Parts of a Prince's Life, which were most injurious and fatal to the Republick.*

*As Suetonius has shewn an extraordinary Fidelity in his Relation, for which he deserves to be highly esteem'd, it were to be wish'd he had been more exact and careful in his Method and Style; the first of which especially, is so necessary to a just Apprehension of the Story, that it ought by no means to be neglected. For the Method in which he has chosen to dispose his History is irregular; since instead of passing from one Action to another, according to the Order in which they happen'd, he relates those which are of one Kind all at once without Interruption, before he proceeds to another. Thus he casts the Wars, the Examples of Injustice and Cruelty, or of Equity and Mercy of an Emperor, together in one continu'd Series; by which the History is disturb'd, and Things which are very distant, are brought equally forward upon the same Line in a common View, while many which lay between are thrown behind. He is so fair indeed, as to give the Reader*  
express

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*express Warning of this ; but that does not prevent the ill Effects of this injudicious Conduct. It may indeed sometimes be convenient to anticipate the Relation of a particular Passage in a Life ; but Suetonius has so much disregarded the Sequel of Time thro' his whole Work, that he introduces a Confusion, and leads a Reader who is not aware, into a Misconception of Things, or at best obliges him to have Recourse to some regular Authors, if he would know the Situation of those Actions according to their natural Order.*

*Biography being a more familiar and easy Sort of History, the Style of it shou'd be less rais'd and solemn, than that which a general Historian seems oblig'd to preserve ; yet it ought not to be left as naked and unadorn'd as that of Annals. For as the Work is capable of higher finishing, it shou'd be more interwoven and united in its Parts, and the Expression enliven'd with greater Vigour ; tho' to leave it rather too plain and artless, may be a less Error in Judgment, than to make it too florid and sublime. To do Justice therefore to the Style of Suetonius, he affects not to write with Eloquence and elaborate Periods and Turns, and much less with the Sallies of a volatile and sporting Imagination, like that of Florus, who tho' he only abridges the Roman Story, delivers himself arrogantly, and is full of Vanity and Affectation, and the Witticisms of a Boyish Fancy, and perfectly a Martial in Prose. But Suetonius always writes seriously, and like  
a Man,*



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*a Man, and seems to be wholly intent upon what was his proper Business, namely, setting down Matters of Fact, and not shewing his Skill in playing with Words. Yet it must be acknowledg'd, that his Style is dry, and perplex'd, and many of his Phrases seem hard and Unnatural, and are therefore obscure. He does not write gracefully, and his Sentences are clos'd in too short a Compass, and his Connexions frequently abrupt and uncertain, and there seems a Life and Spiritedness wanting thro' the whole. It is therefore neither a pleasant Task to translate him, nor easy to do it well, to avoid as much as is lawful, those general Defects in the Structure of his Style, and yet not to destroy his Character, by moulding it intirely new. Besides this, the Difficulties which arise from the particular National Customs in private and familiar Conversation, which are of Necessity alluded to in Biographical Writings, may incline the Reader to be more favourable in censuring the Errors in such Translations.*

*The Objection which has been made against the Choice of his Subject, that the Emperors whose Lives he writes, were Monsters of Corruption and Folly, and therefore a good Author wou'd not be willing to employ his Pen in describing them, is unreasonable; for the Consequences of it wou'd extend too far, since if it were comply'd with universally by Historians, it wou'd make many a Gap in the Records of former Ages, and render them*

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*them very imperfect. This Argument therefore only concludes, that the Lives of private and obscure Persons which are scandalous and ill, are not worth relating, and that a Man who desires merely to raise himself a Reputation as an Author, wou'd not pitch upon the Reign of an absurd and ridiculous Prince for the Subject of his Work. But it is necessary that Occurrences and Actions of past Times shou'd be deliver'd to Posterity, and an Historian must take them as they happen, and ought not to be blam'd if they prove vile and worthless.*

*Such Histories are also of admirable Use: For the calamitous Ends of Tyrannical and Inhumane Princes which are there represented, are a Warning-Piece shot off to deter Rulers from Actions of Injustice and Mischief; and their extravagant and oppressive Reigns, amply demonstrate the Miseries of a People who are surrender'd to the capricious Will of one Man, to starve or flourish, to be easy or tormented, enrich'd or plunder'd, and live or die, as his Resentments or wanton Cruelty shall direct. Who that enjoys the inexpressible Blessing of a well-constituted Government administer'd by wise and upright Hands, but when he reads these Examples, must be transported with his own Felicity, and taste Liberty with an intenser Pleasure. An arbitrary Power may perhaps be so artfully represented in Speculation, as to deceive the unwary into the fatal Delusion of believing it beneficial, and not attended with these pernicious Evils: But when we see the  
same*

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*same tremendous Effects continually taking place where the Thing has been put to the Experiment, it will surely be impossible for us to resist the Conviction, and not to have the most contemptible Opinion of any Learned Men, who shall undertake to assure a Nation, which is, and always has been rul'd by Laws, that they have no Right to their Freedom, and that it is their Duty and Interest to be expos'd to all manner of Violence and Depredation.*

*That which Suetonius seems to have chiefly propos'd to himself in compiling these Lives, was not to make a compleat History of the whole, but to supply what he observ'd was mostly neglected by former Writers; namely, the private Conversations and Customs, the Sayings and Behavior of the Emperors, in which he is very full and punctual, while he gives us their publick and more important Transactions briefly and in gross, as having been already sufficiently related by others. And this being his principal Design, he was the more easily betray'd into the Indiscretion of mentioning whatever came to his Knowledge of this Kind, without Distinction; and of setting down many frivolous Circumstances, which are too little to appear in a History; as where he tells us what Sort of Cheese and Bread Augustus Cæsar lik'd best, and what Clothes he put on in the Winter, and is even so formal as to quote some of his Letters upon this minute Subject.*

*And*



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*And tho' it might proceed from the same Principle, that he is so particular in mentioning the Lewdness and more than Bestial Actions of Tiberius and others, yet this is a Fault of too mischievous a Nature to be excus'd: For his condemning the Crime is ineffectual, while his describing the Debaucheries is apt to sully the Imagination with impure Ideas, and occasion the Vices he relates. So gross indeed was the Depravity of the Roman Manners at the Beginning of the Imperial Government, and which afterwards increas'd, that scarcely any noted Person among them was clear from the Imputation of the most unnatural Folly; and the Suspicion is so just even of Virgil himself, that it will be difficult to vindicate him from it, and to understand his Second Pastoral, and several Lines in the Third, in an innocent Sense. In translating those Parts of Suetonius, I have cover'd them what I cou'd by a remote Expression, and have purposely left some of them obscure: For as they ought not to have been written, they ought to be wholly omitted in a Translation, where it is not possible to avoid indecent Terms; and where they can be couch'd in distant Words, what a shameful Folly wou'd it be to add Notes to explain them? How many shocking Passages in antient Authors had lain justly not understood, if the criminal Officiousness of Commentators had not thrown a Light upon them? Was there ever a more preposterous Breach of Modesty known, than in the Editor of the Dauphin's Claudian,*

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*Claudian, who has struck out the Obscenities from the Text, where they lay dispers'd, and might escape a Reader's Eye who did not go thro' the whole Poem, and has printed them all together in a Collection at the End, with an Interpretation of the most obnoxious Words? Or what can give a greater Horror than to hear a Foreign Scholar engage to publish a full Commentary upon such a Writer as Petronius Arbiter, Si Deus det vitam & vires?*

*As the extreme Superstition of the Romans dispos'd them, like the other Pagan Nations, to interpret the most indifferent Circumstances and Events in an ominous Sense, it cannot be surprising that Suetonius is so particular in reciting the Prognosticks and portentous Signs, which foreboded the Deaths of the Emperors, and the principal Occurrences in their Lives. And tho' Polybius was too wise to fall into this Folly, yet he was a Grecian; and Livy, the Prince of the Roman Historians, indulges himself in these idle Relations; and Appius Claudius, one of the Generals in the Time of the Consuls, is loudly exclaim'd on for adventuring to shew a Contempt of such Fancies; and Julius Cæsar and Tiberius are censur'd on the same Account. . But Suetonius was undoubtedly honest in what he tells us of this Kind, and believ'd himself what he wrote, and did not do it to comply with former Precedents, or to amuse his Reader: For by a Letter of*  
Pliny's

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Pliny's it appears, he had wrote to him very pressingly, if it were possible, to get a Law-Suit he had depending, and which was now coming on, put off to another Time, because he had dream'd about it. Pliny, with his usual good Nature and Readiness to please his Friend, endeavours to persuade him not to be so much disturb'd at the Dream, since it might perhaps be a Token of Success, as he shews him by a Dream of his own, which he had formerly had in a Case of the same Nature; but however, to make him easy, he wou'd, if he desir'd it, get the Hearing adjourn'd.

Whether Suetonius has excell'd or equall'd the other Writers of Biography among the Romans, may deserve to be examin'd, but a Comparison can never be exactly form'd between him and Plutarch, because their Design and Manner seem to be intirely different. For Suetonius, it is plain, writes only Historically to give a naked Relation of Facts; but Plutarch, proposing to make his a more Philosophical Work, has chosen Characters of eminent Renown and Merit, in order to reason from them, and deduce Conclusions for the Moral Improvement of the Reader. Tho' Plutarch therefore is a more valuable Author, as having a great and manly Genius, supply'd with uncommon Learning and Knowledge, yet the Excellency of Plutarch and Suetonius is of two Kinds; and as Suetonius cou'd not have  
executed



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*executed equally upon Plutarch's Model, so neither cou'd Plutarch have persuaded himself to have written according to that of the latter.*

*It will scarcely therefore be a Disparagement to Suetonius, to yield in Reputation to so extraordinary a Man as Plutarch: And he has the Consolation of suffering in the common Calamity of his Countrymen, who in the Point of Learning can by no means stand in Competition with the Greeks; which being observ'd briefly somewhere in a Note, I shall for a Conclusion explain it here more at large.*

*The Vanity of the Grecians in claiming to themselves beyond other Nations, the Honour both of Antiquity and Letters, was not well supported, since the Knowledge of Literature, and several Parts of the Heathen Theology, seem to have been introduc'd into Greece by the Phœnicians, who were acquainted with the History of Moses and the Hebrew Law; but it is certain the Romans ow'd their Religion and Learning to the Greeks. For Cadmus, to whom the Grecians themselves impute the Invention of at least Part of their Alphabet, was a Phœnician; and the Arcadians, who inhabited the Middle of Peloponnesus, imported their Deities and Rites of Worship into Italy, long before Rome was built.*

*But*

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*But tho' the Superstition of the Arcadians was very early embrac'd by the Nations of Italy, yet the Liberal Sciences do not appear to have made any considerable Progress; the Arcadians who first arriv'd, being ignorant themselves, or the Natives not apt or in a Condition to receive Instructions; or perhaps the Principles of any Art which were planted among them, were by the Confusions of succeeding Times abolish'd.*

*In this rude Condition Italy seems to have continu'd, till the Roman Arms open'd a Communication with the Greeks, about the Year of Rome 470; when Pyrrhus King of Epirus, at the Invitation of the Tarentines, made a Descent into Italy. It is from this Point of Time, that the Romans Acquaintance with Learning may be esteem'd to begin: For tho' they had long before employ'd Ambassadors to collect from the Grecians a Body of the most useful Laws, of which the Ten Tables were afterwards compos'd; yet the Philosophy and polite Arts of Greece they left untouch'd, and brought home no Masters with them. But after the War with Pyrrhus, some Envoys being dispatch'd from Bæotia to sollicite Aid against the Athenians, the Conversation of the Greeks, and their surprising Turns in Argument and Eloquence, inflam'd the Youth of Rome with a Desire of having the Elements of so beautiful an Art imparted to them.*  
Old

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Old Cato, and some who were inflexible Admirers of the Primitive Roughness and Rusticity of Manners, were displeas'd at this, and endeavour'd to prevent the Grecian Oratory and Erudition taking Place among them.

Tho' the strong Inclination to Learning, which was now awaken'd, at length bore down all Opposition, and produc'd several great and admirable Writers among the Romans, it may still be a National Observation upon them, that in several Kinds of Learning they were always inferior to their Masters, and in others scarcely arose to an equal Perfection with them. For Literature in the several Parts of it, was universal among the Grecians; whereas the Romans were rather happy in producing some particular Genius's, than in being a Learned People; and it is well known, how much their chief Authors have copy'd from Greek Originals.

In Natural Philosophy, the Grecians had many extraordinary Men, who upon different Principles projected an Hypothesis, which if it was not true, was at least ingeniously design'd, and shew'd a Dexterity of Invention. But what new System in Physics was ever propos'd by the Romans? Or what Errors and Defects have they disprov'd and supply'd in the Grecians? And in Mathematicks and Astronomy they were so grossly unknowing, that they seem to have been ignorant almost of the plainest Rudiments  
of



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of those Sciences ; in which and in the Arts of Statuary and Painting the Preference was so notoriously on the Side of the Grecians, that the others have ingenuously acknowledg'd it ; tho' those Lines of Virgil,

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, &c.*

seem not so much a free Confession of another's Superior Merit, as the scornful Neglect of a Man who flings up a Thing in Anger, as not being able to obtain it.

In Works of Imagination and Eloquence, as Poesy and Oratory, we know the Palm is also adjudged to the Grecians ; the few Remains of Dramatick Writings among the Romans which have come to our Hands, being at once a Demonstration of their little Ability that Way, and of the Grecians Triumph over them. The Tragedies which pass under Seneca's Name, are more properly Moral Reflections and Set Speeches upon such Topicks, by a Philosopher writing at his Ease, than a true Image of Nature, and Expressions of Persons agitated in the Events of real Life. Terence was an African, and the Praise which belongs to his Comedies, is ultimately the Grecians ; for the Plays are taken from Menander, and in the Judgment of Cæsar himself, he has fallen far short of the Original. Plautus indeed was a Roman born, and had a Vein in Comedy beyond the  
a other ;

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other; his *Wit* is more abundant and more spirited, and there are more *Strokes of Humour* in his Characters. But this, according to a former Observation, is only a single Instance of one Man, and concludes nothing to the Advantage of the Romans in general. In a Word, the Romans neither excell'd in the Drama, nor tasted the noblest Kinds of it; for the Theatrical Entertainments they affected, were ludicrous and of the Comic Species, and those not consisting of a Story contriv'd naturally, and adapted to exert and shew in a clear Point of Light, a Variety of Disposition and Manners, and those odd and particular Turns and Sallies of Fancy, which may be signify'd by the Word *Humour*, but were more address'd to the Sight and to the meaner Passions, than to the Understanding of the Mind; for the most admir'd of their Actors were the Mimi, who pleas'd the Spectators by meer Gestures without Words.

If Virgil has been so happy as to excel the *Beza* & *Hungar* of Hesiod, in his *Georgics*, he has not the same Advantage over Theocritus in his *Pastorals*, and Homer is the more universal and animated Genius. His three Poems are plainly form'd upon the Plans of those Grecians, and he confesses it concerning his *Pastorals*,

*Prima Syracusio dignata est ludere versu,*

*and.*

# The PREFACE.

and his Georgics,

Ascræumq; cano Romana per oppida  
carmen ;

however it happens that in his *Æneis* he has not shewn the same Ingenuity toward Homer, from whose *Ilias* he has taken his Design.

What is said concerning Plautus may be apply'd to Cicero, whose Orations are distinguish'd by a Shining and Masculine Sense, and a great Copiousness and Harmony of Expression ; in both which Respects he is below none of the Grecians. Yet he found it proper to withdraw from the Forum after he had began to plead, and employ some Time at Athens under the Grecian Masters ; and it was after this he arose into that extraordinary Reputation which he will always possess. As he propos'd Demosthenes for his Pattern, his Admiration of him was so passionate, that in Allusion to his celebrated Orations against King Philip, he has improperly styl'd his own Declamations against Mark Anthony, by the same Name of Philippics. And in his Philosophical Writings, which are fill'd with such sublime Reasoning and Reflections, his Fondness for the Grecians is so great, that he frequently chuses rather to relate their Opinions and Thoughts, than to treat

2 2

the



## THE PREFACE.

the Subject directly himself, and deliver his own Sentiments upon them.

The same Observation may be repeated concerning Livy, who is the principal Historian among the Romans: To which we may add, that he has only compos'd the History of a single People, who were of a later Original than several others; whereas among the Greeks we have Histories whose Subject is universal, and comprises the Events, Doctrines, and Customs of Nations very remote, and who were most celebrated in the Heathen World for Antiquity, and the Honour of the first Knowledge of Arts and of Religious Worship.

This general Disparity may perhaps be imputed rather to some external Causes and Impediments than to a natural Incapability in the Romans. For not only the first Inhabitants of Rome were compos'd of the basest People of the neighbouring Towns; but they were of Necessity from the Beginning engag'd in Wars for the enlarging their Limits, and repelling the Invasions of the bordering Nations; so that during the Kingly Government, and that of the Consuls, they were wholly employ'd in Arms, which left them no Leisure to cultivate the liberal \* Arts; and after they had establish'd

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\* Rudi scilicet ac bellicosa etiam tum civitate; necdum magnopere liberalibus disciplinis vacante. De illustr. Gram.

## THE PREFACE.

establish'd their Dominion, the Civil Confusions of Sylla, and then of Cæsar, embroil'd them at home, and at last destroy'd their Liberties. And under an Arbitrary Power it will always be impracticable to improve Learning in all its Parts to Perfection. Tho' the mild Administration of Augustus therefore, like Ease after a violent Pain, reviv'd the Spirits of the Romans, and his Indulgence and Liberalities rais'd up many excellent Writers, yet the Tyrannys of the succeeding Emperors put a stop to the Progress of Science, and check'd it soon after it was begun. For the Mind is depress'd, and restrain'd in all its Powers, when it sees the free Exercise of them is not only discountenanc'd, but often fatal. And this may be a Reason why Eloquence and Erudition flourish'd most under Augustus, after the free Government was converted into an absolute Empire, and among the Greeks, while their Republicks were standing, and before they were enslav'd and conquer'd.

Concerning the former Translations of Suetonius I shall only observe, that in that publish'd by several Hands whole Sentences are entirely omitted, and many misconstrued, and an improper Liberty frequently us'd of confounding the Roman Offices and Customs by putting them into modern Terms. I have endeavour'd therefore to make this more exact and compleat, and that nothing necessary might be wanting, have added large explanatory Notes concerning Places  
and

## The P R E F A C E.

and Things, and to render some Parts of the History the more clear, without which so summary a Writer as Suetonius would not be understood. I have also pointed out the particular Word or Circumstance in which a Witty Turn or Saying consists, and shewn in what Sense it is likely the Dreams and Omens were interpreted and apply'd; and the Passages out of the Poets relating to the Subject, which are inserted in the Notes, may be no unpleasing Relief in the Course of a dry Narration. This made the Undertaking more laborious, and if the whole is tolerably perform'd, I hope the Reader, who considers the Conciseness and Difficulties of Suetonius's Style, will forgive the Errors he shall discover. The Cuts of the Antiquities, which are very serviceable in reading an antient History, and the Emperors Heads, are copy'd from those in Petiscus's Latin Edition, who says, the Heads were taken from Paintings done at the Command of Queen Christina. This, I see, has led the Bookseller into a Mistake in his Advertisement, that the Notes of Petiscus won'd be here translated.



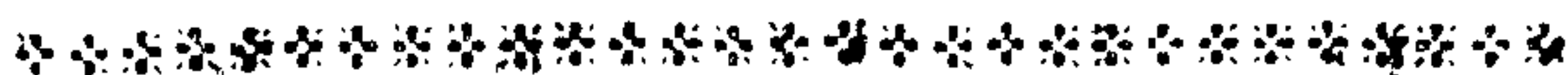
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E R R A-



## E R R A T A

Page 80, line 29, read *Registry*. p. 90, l. 4 in the Note, r. *Claudius*. p. 109, l. 6, r. *the Palatine*. p. 119, l. 6 in the Note, r. *Page 29*. p. 181, l. 18 in the Note, r. *Claudian*. p. 261, l. 7 in the Note, after *could not*, add, *join*. p. 306, l. 9 in the Note, for *last* r. *first*. p. 312, l. 13, r. *throw*. p. 354, l. 17, r. *Offensation*. p. 395, l. 33, dele *he*. p. 401, l. 11, r. *Chicken*. p. 402, l. 3 ditto. p. 443, l. ult. dele *against him*. p. 454, l. ult. dele the Comma after *Treasury*, and place it at *Death*. p. 489, l. 10, for *Palmularian* r. *Pomularian*.









THE  
L I F E  
O F  
JULIUS CÆSAR.



JULIUS CÆSAR, lost his Father when he was Sixteen-Years old, and in the next \* Consulate, being chosen † *Flamen Dialis*, he divorc'd *Cossutia*, a Lady whose Fortune was very rich, tho' she was only of an Equestrian Family, whom he had espous'd in his Minority; and married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Cinna*, four times Consul, by whom he had his Daughter *Julia*: Nor cou'd *Sylla*, the Dictator, prevail with him by any means to dismiss her. Wherefore being depriv'd of the Priesthood, of his Wife's Dowry, and of his Paternal Estate, he was suppos'd to have thrown himself into the *Marian* Faction, and was treated accordingly; so that he was oblig'd to abscond, and to shift his Lodging almost every Night, tho' he was ill with a Quartan-Ague, and frequently to buy himself out of the Hands of the Officers who search'd after him; till, at length, the Vestal Virgins, and *Mamercus Æmilius* and *Aurelius Cotta*, his Relations, procur'd

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\* The Consuls were elected every Year.

† Priest of Jupiter.

procur'd him a Pardon. It is well known, that when *Sylla* had, for a long time, rejected the Intercession of some who were his intimate Friends and Persons of Noble Rank, in *Cæsar's* Behalf, and they continu'd incessantly to urge him, at last yielding to their Intreaties, *You shall command me*; cry'd he, or by an Inspiration, or from his own Conjecture, *let it be as you please*; but remember, *this Man whom you are so importunate to save, will one Day be the Ruine of the Patri-cian Party, which we have been endeavouring to support: For there are many Marius's in Cæsar.*

2. He made his first Campaign in *Asia*, under *M. Thermus*, the Pretor; and being sent by him to *Bithynia* to hasten the Arrival of the Fleet, he staid some time there with *Nicomedes*, the King, not without a Report of having become his Prostitute; which Rumour was encreas'd by his returning to *Bithynia* within a few Days, on Pretence of recovering a Debt belonging to a certain Freeman, his Client. He behav'd himself with a better Reputation during the rest of the Campaign, and was honour'd by *Thermus* with a \* *Civic Crown*, at the taking of *Mitylene*.

3. He serv'd also under *Servilius Isauricus*, in *Cilicia*, but not long; for hearing of *Sylla's* Death, he posted away to *Rome*, having some Expectations from a new Dissention, which was set on foot by *Lepidus*; yet he refus'd to associate with him in his Measures, tho' invited to it upon very great Conditions, because he distrusted both *Lepidus's* Capacity, and the present Situation of Things, which he found to be less advantageous than he had imagin'd.

4. When the Civil Commotions were settled, he impeach'd *Dolabella*, a † *Consular Man*, and who had triumph'd, of Bribery; and upon his being acquitted resolv'd

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\* *The Civic Crown was compos'd of Oaken Boughs, and was given as a Mark of Honour to him who had sav'd the Life of a Roman Citizen in an Engagement.*

† *A Consular Man signifies one who has borne the Office of Consul.*

resolv'd to withdraw to *Rhodes*, at once to avoid the Odium he might have provok'd. and to make a Recess for Studying under *Apollonius*, the Son of *Molo*, who was then a celebrated Master of Rhetorick. As he was passing hither by Sea in the Winter, he was taken near the Island *Pharmacusa* by the Pirates, and had the Mortification to continue in their Hands near forty Days, attended only with one Physician, and two of his Chamberlains. For he immediately sent away his Friends, and the rest of his Train, to raise Money for his Ransom. As soon as he had pay'd down fifty Talents, and was set on Shore, he drew up the Fleet, and sail'd in pursuit of the Pirates, who fled ; and having taken them, he executed on them the \* Punishment, with which he had frequently threaten'd them in jest. *Mithridates* was then laying the neighbouring Countries waste ; and therefore, not to be unactive when the *Roman* Allies were in Danger, he chang'd his Course from *Rhodes*, whither he was bound, and stood for *Asia* ; and gathering a Body of Forces, drove the King's Lieutenant out of the Province, and preserv'd the Cities in their Fidelity, which were beginning to waver.

5. In his Military Tribuneship, which was the first Honour to which the People elected him upon his Return to *Rome*, he united zealously with those who were attempting to restore the Tribunitial Power, which *Sylla* had greatly reduc'd. And by the † *Plotian* Law he recall'd from Exile, *L. Cinna*, his Wife's Brother, and other Partisans in *Lepidus's* Dissension, who after the Consul's Death had fled to *Sertorius* : And upon this Occasion he made a Popular Harangue.

6. When he was Questor he pronounc'd a Funeral Oration, according to Custom, from the *Rostra*,  
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in

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\* Crucifixion, vide § 74.

† Call'd so from *Plotius* the Tribune, who caus'd it to be enacted ; for it was the Roman Custom to name a Law from the Person who procur'd it to be pass'd.



in Praise of his Aunt *Julia* and his Wife *Cornelia* : And speaking of his Aunt, he had these Words concerning her Descent and her Father's : *The Maternal Line of my Aunt Julia is deduc'd from Kings, and the Paternal is ally'd to the Gods. For from Ancus Marcius came the Kings the Marcii, which Name her Mother bore ; and from Venus sprung the Julii, from which Stem our Family arose. Thus there is in our House both the Dignity of Kings, who are most powerful among Men ; and the Majesty of the Gods, to whom Kings themselves are subject. Upon Cornelia's Death he married Pompeia, the Daughter of Q. Pompey and Grand-Daughter of Sylla, whom he afterwards divorc'd, on a Presumption of her being defil'd by P. Clodius : The Report of whose introducing himself to her in a Woman's Habit, during the \* Sacred Ceremonies, was so general, that the Senate order'd him to be arraign'd upon the Crime De Pollutis Sacris, Of Prophaning the Religious Rites.*

7. In his Questorship the farther Spain was assign'd him for his Province ; where going the judicial Circuit by the Pretor's Commission, he came to *Gades* : And observing in *Hercules's* Temple a Statue of *Alexander* the Great, he sigh'd, and as if ashamed of his own Supineness, for having acted Nothing memorable at an Age in which *Alexander* had subdu'd the World, he importunately press'd for a Dismission home, that he might be ready on the spot to embrace any Occasion which shou'd arise for more important Undertakings. And as he was in a wonderful Confusion by a Dream he had in the following Night, (which was, that he had violated his Mother) the Interpreters swell'd his Hopes to Extravagance ; expounding it to portend the Empire of the World : For the Mother he saw submitted to him, was no other than the Earth, which is to be esteem'd the common Parent of us all.

8. Depart-

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\* Viz. The Solemnities of the *Bona Dea*, the Good Goddesses, which the Women perform'd by Night in a private Place, where it was unlawful for a Man to enter.

8. Departing abruptly therefore, before his time, he went to the *Latin Colonies*, who were soliciting for the Privilege of Citizens, and had certainly engag'd them in some Enterprize, if the Consuls had not on this Account kept up, for a while, the Legions which were formerly rais'd for *Cilicia*; However, this did not prevent his attempting greater Things afterwards in the City.

9. For he was suspected, some Days before he entered on the *Edileship*, to have conspir'd with *M. Crassus*, a Consular Man, and with *P. Sylla* and *Autronius*, who had been condemn'd of Corruption after their Election to the Consulate; by whom it was concerted to fall upon the Senate in the beginning of the Year, and kill whom they thought fit; and that *Crassus* shou'd then seize the Dictatorship, and declare *Cæsar* his Master of the Horse; and the State being moulded to their Pleasure, that *Sylla* and *Autronius* shou'd be restor'd to the Consulate. This Conspiracy is mention'd by *Tanustius Geminus* in his History, by *M. Bibulus* in his Edicts, and by *C. Curio*, the Father, in his Orations. And this is what *Cicero* seems to mean, in a Letter of his to *Atticus*, where he says, *Cæsar had possess'd himself of that Dominion, being Consul, which he had projected when he was Ædile*. *Tanustius* adds, that *Crassus*, either out of Remorse or Fear, did not meet on the Day appointed for the Massacre, and therefore *Cæsar* forbore to give the Signal they had agreed on; which, according to *Curio*, was to be his pulling his Gown from his Shoulder. *Curio* and *M. Actorius Naso* relate also, that *Cæsar* had form'd another Conspiracy with *C. Piso*, a Youth, who was to have the Province of *Spain* assign'd to him extraordinarily, to prevent any Jealousy of their plotting together in the City, it being settled between them, that at the same Time one shou'd make an Insurrection abroad, and the other at home, by means of the *Lambrani* and the *Transpadani*. But this Invention was defeated by the Death of *Piso*.

10. When he was *Ædile* he adorn'd not only the Council-Halls, the Forum, and the Courts of Judi-

cature, but also the Capitol with Portico's, that at any time part of the vast Preparations he made for Publick Entertainments might be lodg'd there in open View. He exhibited Plays and Baitings of Wild Beasts, both in Conjunction with his Colleague *Bibulus* and separately from him; by which means the Glory of what was perform'd at the common Charge was entirely deriv'd on *Cæsar*; and *Bibulus* ingenuously own'd, that his Fortune and *Pollux's* were the same: For as the Fane which was built to the two Brothers in the *Forum*, was call'd only by *Cæsar's* Name; so the joint Munificence of him and *Cæsar*, was reputed *Cæsar's* alone. *Cæsar* added also a Scene of Gladiators, but with fewer Combatants than he intended: For the Multitude he had assembled from all Parts alarming his Enemies, they prevail'd to have the Number determin'd, which no one shou'd be permitted to exceed in *Rome*.

11. When he had thus gain'd the Favour of the People, he attempted, by the Interest of the Tribunes, to procure the Province of *Ægypt* to be allotted him; having an admirable Occasion before him to get an extraordinary Power lodg'd in his Hands: For the *Alexandrines* had expell'd their King, whom the Senate had styl'd Friend and Ally, which was generally resent'd at *Rome*. But the Nobles defeated his Intention. Wherefore, in reprisal, to beat down their Authority by all possible Means, he restor'd the Trophies of *Marius* over *Jugurth*, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, which *Sylla* had demolish'd. And sitting upon the Crime of Murder, he pronounc'd them to be guilty of it, who had receiv'd Moneys out of the Treasury, for bringing in the Heads of *Roman* Citizens upon a Proscription; tho this Case was especially excepted by the *Cornelian* Laws.

12. He suborn'd one to enter an Impeachment of Treason against *C. Rabirius*, by whose Assistance chiefly the Senate had some Years before suppress'd the seditious Attempts of *L. Saturninus* the Tribune; and



and being chosen Judge in the Cause, he condemn'd him so very readily, and with so good a Will, that nothing was of equal Service to *Rabirius*, who appeal'd to the People, as the Severity of his Judge.

13. Quitting all Hope of carrying the \* Province he propos'd, he put up for the High-Priesthood, and was exceedingly profuse in his Largesses, insomuch that computing the extravagant Debt he had contracted by this Expence, he is said to have told his Mother, when she kiss'd him as he was going in the Morning to the Election, that unless he were chosen he wou'd never return home. His two Competitors were powerful Men, and much his Superiours both in Age and Dignity ; but his Interest was so far beyond theirs, that he had more Voices out of their own Tribes, than both of them had among the whole People.

14. *Catiline's* Conspiracy breaking out when he was Pretor, and the whole Senate voting Capital Punishment against the Accomplices, *Cæsar* alone was for having the Sentence to be a † Confinement in several Corporation Towns, with a Confiscation of their Goods. And he struck such a Fear into those who advis'd to severer Penalties, continually representing what a perpetual Odium they wou'd incur by it from the People, that *Decimus Silanus*, the Consul Elect, tho' he was asham'd directly to retract his Opinion, yet condescended to soften it by an Explanation, as if it had been understood more rigorously than he meant it: So that *Cæsar* had undoubtedly prevail'd, having brought over a great many, and among them the Brother of *Cicero* the Consul, if a Speech of *M. Cato* had not confirm'd them in their first Resolutions. Nor did he yet forbear to perplex the

B 4

Debates,

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\* Ægypt.

† By this the Conspirators were excus'd from a close Imprisonment, and had the Freedom of going about within certain Limits assign'd them by the Towns, where they were entrusted, who were answerable for their Appearance.

Debates, till a Band of *Roman* Knights, who were plac'd round the Senate House as a Guard, threaten'd to cut him in Pieces, and even made at him with their drawn Swords, as he was warmly pushing his Argument ; insomuch that his next Assessors fled from the Bench, and some few, who threw themselves round him and cover'd him with their Gowns, were scarcely able to save him. Being terrified at this, he not only desisted, but absented himself also from the Senate the remaining part of the Year.

15. Upon the first Day of his Pretorship he summon'd *Q. Catulus* to an Examination before the People, concerning the Repairing of the Capitol ; and propos'd a Bill to take that Charge out of his Hands and commit it to another. But the Combination of the Nobles was too strong for him here, who neglecting the Ceremony of waiting on the new Consuls, presented themselves in Crowds at the Place of Trial, determin'd vigorously to withstand him ; upon which he sunk the Process.

16. And *Cæcilius Metellus*, the Tribune, undertaking to ordain some Laws, of a dangerous and seditious nature, against the Protests of his Colleagues, he encourag'd and supported him to his utmost ; till both he and *Metellus* were remov'd from their Offices by a Decree of the Senate : Yet he had the Presumption to continue acting in the Magistracy ; but perceiving some were prepar'd to repell him by Force of Arms, he dismiss'd the † *Lictors*, and throwing off his Robe, fled privately home ; designing in compliance with the Necessity of the Times, to sit still and meddle no farther. And when the Multitude two Days after resorted to him of themselves, promising, in a tumultuous Manner, to assist him in asserting his Dignity, he appeas'd them and sent them away. Which happening beyond Expectation, the Senate, who assembled in Confusion upon the Rising, return'd him Thanks by Persons of the first Rank ;

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† *A Set of Officers who attended the Pretor.*

Rank ; and citing him into the House, gave him Praises in the fullest Terms, restor'd him to his Post, and annull'd their former Decree.

17. After this a fresh Difficulty surpris'd him, being accus'd as one of *Catiline's* Accomplices, both before *Novius Niger* the Questor, by *L. Vettius Judex*, and in the Senate by *Q. Curius*, to whom a publick Premium was appointed for making the first Discovery. *Curius* said he had learn'd it from *Catiline* himself, and *Vettius* engag'd to produce a Paper, which *Cæsar* sent to *Catiline*, written with his own Hand. *Cæsar* thought this was by no means to be endur'd ; and having made it appear, that he had voluntarily reveal'd several Particulars of the Conspiracy to *Cicero*, whom he desir'd to witness to the Fact, he obtain'd that *Curius* shou'd not have a Reward ; and *Vettius*, who was oblig'd to give in Bail, his Goods being seiz'd, and himself almost torn in pieces as he was speaking at the Rostra, he threw into Prison, and with him *Novius* the Questor, because he had suffer'd an Impeachment to be brought before him against a \* superiour Magistrate.

18. The Province of the farther *Spain* being granted him at the Conclusion of his Pretorship, after he had satisfied his Creditors, who detain'd him, by finding them Securities, he set forward, contrary to Custom and Right, before the necessary Dispositions and Orders were compleated, for his assuming his Government ; whether it was from fear of a Prosecution, which was forming against him now his Magistracy was expir'd ; or the more speedily to relieve the Allies in those Parts, who were importunate for Succours, is uncertain. Having settled the Province, he return'd as precipitately, without staying for a Successor, in order to receive at once a Triumph and the Consulate : But since he cou'd not be admitted a Candidate at the Election, which was now begun, unless he enter'd the City a private Man; and

B 5

meeting

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\* The Pretor was above a Questor.



meeting with a general Opposition as he mov'd to have this Law suspended in his Favour, he was constrain'd to give up the Triumph, that he might not be excluded the Consulate.

19. Of his two Rivals *L. Lucceius* and *M. Bibulus*, he chose to unite his Interest with the former, contracting with him, that because he was less popular, but very wealthy, it shou'd be his part to distribute the usual Sums among the Centuries upon their common Account. The Nobles being appris'd of the Agreement, and fearing there was nothing which he wou'd not enterprize when he was possess'd of the Supreme Magistracy, with a Colleague who wou'd readily give into his Measures, caus'd *Bibulus* to offer himself to *Cæsar* upon those Terms, and several of them contributed toward the Expence : Nor did *Cato* himself deny, that such a Largess at that time might be of publick Service. And thus *Cæsar* was created Consul with *Bibulus*. From the same View also the Nobles took care that the new Consuls shou'd be employed upon Things which were of very little Importance, as the Supervising of the Forests and common Ways. Inflam'd at this Indignity, he made his court, by all obliging Offices, to *Pompey*, who was distast'd at the Senate, for their Delay in ratifying his Military Acts after the Conquest of King *Mithridates*. And having reconcil'd *Pompey* and *M. Crassus*, who had been Enemies ever since their Consulate, in which they were continually at variance, he struck up a Confederacy with them, that Nothing shou'd be done in the Republick, which was disapprov'd by any of the Three.

20. Being enter'd on his Office, he was the first who ordain'd, that the daily Acts, as well of the Senate as of the People, shou'd be register'd and publish'd. He reviv'd also the ancient Custom, that in the Month when the *Fasces* were not borne before him, an† *Accensus* shou'd precede him, and the *Lictors* march

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† A sort of Crier to the Court.

march next behind. His Colleague declaring against the *Agrarian* Law when it was promulg'd, he drove him by Force of Arms out of the *Forum* : And when he complain'd of it the next Day in the Senate, and no one was found who had Bravery enough to examine into it, or move for a Reparation, as had been often done in Cases less outrageous, it threw *Bibulus* into such Despair, that abdicating his Office, he shut himself up in his House, and only ventur'd to protest against him by Edicts. From that time one Man administer'd all things in the Republick, at his Pleasure. Whence, in witnessing to Writings, some wou'd ludicrously date them, not *Cæsar and Bibulus*, but *Julius and Cæsar*, being *Consuls* ; and the following Verses were commonly handed about.

*Non Bibulo quidquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum est :  
Nam Bibulo Consule fieri nil memini.*

A Consul *Cæsar* we have had, 'tis true ;  
But honest *Bibulus* who ever knew ?

The *Campus Stellatus*, which was consecrated to Sacred Uses by our Ancestors, and the *Campanian* Grounds which were left as a publick Fund, he divided, (not according to former Examples, by Lot,) between twenty Thousand Citizens, who were found to have three Children apiece, or more. And the Publicans desiring an Abatement in the Rates at which they farm'd the Revenues, he remitted them a third Part, and openly advis'd them not to bid upon one another so extravagantly for any future Subsidies. He dispens'd all other Favours indifferently at his Discretion, no one contradicting him ; or if any endeavour'd to prevent it, they were immediately over-aw'd ; and *M. Cato* beginning to interpose, he commanded the *Lictor* to hale him out of the Court, and lay him in Prison. And *Lucullus*, who yet made a gallant Stand, he so frighten'd with an Apprehension of opening some terrible Accusation against him, that . . .

that he threw himself at his Knees. *Cicero* also having in one of his Pleadings, deplor'd the Condition of the Times, he caus'd his Enemy, *P. Clodius*, to be translated from the || *Patrician* to the *Plebeian* Order, at † three a Clock in the Afternoon; a Benefit which he had long since solicited for in vain. And to push at the whole Body of the other Party at once, he procur'd *Vettius* to depose, that he had been instigated by several of them to murder *Pompey*; and publickly to name such particular Persons, as the Authors of the Design. But when two or three were impeach'd in vain, and the Thing became suspected of Forgery, 'tis thought he despair'd of the Success of this precipitate Invention, and so remov'd his Evidence by Poison.

21. About the same time he married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, who was to succeed him in the Consulate; and gave his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, repudiating her former Husband *Servilius Cæpio*, who had assisted him more than any Man to crush his Fellow-Consul *Bibulus*. Upon this Relation he made *Pompey* the Compliment of asking his Vote first in the Senate, as he had done *Crassus's* before: And it was the Custom, that the same Order of gathering the Voices, as the Consul had observ'd, upon the \* *Kalends of January*, shou'd be continu'd all the Year.

22. His Father-in-law therefore, and his new Son supporting him, he made his Choice of all the Provinces, and pitch'd on both the *Gauls*; by the Profits and Advantages of which, he was most likely to obtain a Triumph. At first only the *Cisalpine Gaul*, with the Addition of *Illyricum*, was appointed him by the  
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|| This was a Degradation, but *Clodius* sought for it, in order to qualify himself for the Tribuneship, a *Patrician* not being capable of the Office.

† An Hour at which the Courts, in which such Translations were made, never us'd to sit.

\* New-year's Day.



the † *Vatinian Law*, but the Senate afterwards threw in *Gallia Comata*, in fear the People wou'd give it to him, if they shou'd refuse it. His Transport at this was so great, that he cou'd not forbear vaunting, a few Days after, in a full House, he had now accomplish'd his Desires in despite of his Enemies, who repin'd in vain, and shou'd henceforth Lord it over them all. And some body telling him, by way of Reflection, *that wou'd be no easie thing for any Woman to do*, he answer'd, alluding as it were to the secret Sense of the Expression, *Semiramis had reign'd in Assyria, and the Amazons were once Sovereigns of great Part of Asia.*

23. At the end of his Consulate, C. *Memmius* and *Lucius Domitius*, the Pretors, laying the \* *Acts* he had pass'd, during his Office, before the Senate, he submitted himself to the Judgment of the House; who declining to enter on the Examination, after three Days were spent in fruitless Debates, he set out for his Province: And immediately upon his Departure, the Man who had been his Questor when he was Consul, was seiz'd for several Misdeameanors, which was a President for calling Cæsar himself to Account. *L. Antistius* the Tribune impeaching him shortly after, he appeal'd to the whole College of Tribunes, and obtain'd, that since he was absent in the Service of the Republick, Sentence shou'd not be given in his Disfavour. And to secure himself for time to come, he took care always to make the Annual Magistrates his Friends, and to promote the Interest only of those among the Competitors, who wou'd engage to Patronize him in his Absence, not suffer-

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† *A Law pass'd by P. Vatinius the Tribune, conferring the Government of these Countries upon Cæsar for five Years, without a Decree of the Senate, or the usual Formality of casting Lots.*

\* *These Acts were Illegal, and the Pretors, by reporting them to the Senate, design'd to have had Cæsar call'd to account for them, and punish'd.*

suffering the others to carry any Preferments; nor did he scruple to require an Oath from some, and even an Instrument under their Hand.

24. But *L. Domitius*; who put up for the Consulate, openly threatening, if he was chosen, to effect what he had not been able to do when he was Pretor, and to deprive him of his Command of the Army; *Cæsar* prevail'd on *Crassus* and *Pompey*, whom he had drawn over to *Luca*, a City of his Province, to stand for the Consulship again, in order to exclude *Domitius*, and procure his own Commission to be continued for five Years: In both which Designs he succeeded. And this gave him such Assurance, that he added to the publick Legions which were under him, two others at his own Expence; one of which consisting of *Transalpine Gauls*, was call'd by a *Gaulish* Name † *Alauda*: He form'd them after the Discipline and Customs of the *Romans*, and at last made them free of the City. And now he never slipp'd an Occasion of beginning a War, tho' it were unjust and hazardous, falling upon Confederates as well as Enemies and Barbarians, without Provocation; insomuch that the Senate had once voted Deputies shou'd be sent to inquire into the Affairs of *Gaul*, and some mov'd to have him given up into the Enemies Hands. But his Actions were so perpetually fortunate, that there were Days of publick Thanksgiving oftner appointed on his account, and for a greater Number together, than any General before him had ever obtain'd. In the Compass of his nine Years Command, he perform'd most of the following Enterprizes.

25. Beside the People whom he made Allies, and the Cities he brought entirely to receive the *Roman* Laws, he reduc'd into the Form of a Province all that part of *Gaul*, which is bounded by the *Pyreneans*, the *Alps*, and Mount *Gibenna*, and the Rivers *Rhine* and *Rhone*, and is Three thousand two hundred Miles in  
Compass,

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† The Crested Legions.

Compass, and impos'd on it an annual Tribute of \* Forty hundred thousand Sesterces. He was the first *Roman* who laying a Bridge over the *Rhine*, attack'd the *Germans* on the other side, and gave them several considerable Defeats. He also invaded the *Britains*, who were unknown before, and conquering oblig'd them to pay down a Sum of Money, and to give Hostages. Amidst so many Successes, he was unfortunate only thrice, namely, in *Britain*, where his Fleet was almost destroy'd by a Tempest; and in *Gaul*, where one of his Legions was put to Flight at *Gergovia*; and lastly, on the *German* Frontiers where his Lieutenants *Titterius* and *Aurunculus* were slain in an Ambuscade.

26. As he was thus multiplying his Victories, he lost in a short space of Time his Mother, his Daughter, and his Grand-Daughter. And the Republick being now in a wonderful Consternation at the Murder of *P. Clodius*, and the Senate voting a single Consul, and fixing on *Pompey* by Name, he practis'd with the Tribunes who were going to make him Colleague with *Pompey*, rather to propose a Law to the People which shou'd enable him to stand a second time for the Consulate in his Absence, whenever the Term of his Commission was almost expir'd, lest he shou'd otherwise be under a Necessity of quitting his Province before he had finish'd the War. As soon as he had carry'd this Article, he turn'd his Ambition to more exalted Views; and being animated in his Hopes, omitted no Largesses nor Address towards any one, either in publick or private. He began to erect a *Forum* with the Money arising from the Spoils, the Floor of which cost him above a Hundred Millions of Sesterces: And signify'd, that he wou'd present the People with a Shew of Gladiators, and a Feast in Honour of his Daughter's Memory; a Thing altogether without Example. And to raise their Expectations, tho' he had set the publick Victuallers to work,

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\* About 33333 l. Sterling.



work, he also employ'd the Cooks of private Families to prepare for the Entertainment; and order'd, if a celebrated Gladiator was at any time in danger of being sacrific'd by the Spectators, he should be carry'd off by Force, and reserv'd for this Solemnity. He had several young Swords-Men train'd up, not by the common Play on the Stage, or by the ordinary Masters, but in private Houses by *Roman* Knights, and even by such Senators as were well skill'd in the Art, desiring them, as appears by his Letters, to undertake their Education, and instruct them in their Exercises. He also doubled the Pay of his Legions for ever, and in a time of Plenty distributed Corn among them liberally, and not by the common Measure; and sometimes gave Slaves and Lands to several particular Men.

27. In order to preserve the Friendship and Affection of *Pompey*, he offer'd him his Sister's Grand-Daughter *Octavia*, who was marry'd to *C. Marcellus*, and ask'd his Daughter, who was contracted to *Faustus Sylla*, for himself. He oblig'd all who were near *Pompey's* Person, and even a great many Senators by lending them Money freely, or at a very small Interest, and made very generous Presents to those of any inferiour Orders, who came to attend him, either by Invitation or of their own accord, causing even their freed Men and Slaves, to partake of his Bounty, accordingly as they were in Favour with their particular Lords or Patrons. To Offenders, Debtors, and extravagant Youths he was a certain and immediate Refuge, unless the Excess of their Crimes, or Necessities, put it out of his Power to afford them Relief: *For such as these*, he said publickly, *cou'd not subsist without a Civil War.*

28. He was equally studious to insinuate himself with Kings and Provinces in all Parts of the World, giving a Thousand Captives to some, and sending auxiliary Troops to others, whither and whenever they desir'd them, without the Authority of the Senate and People; adorning also the Principal Cities  
of

of *Italy, Gaul, Spain, Asia* and *Greece* with splendid Edifices : till all Men being amaz'd, and reflecting what the Design of this Conduct might be, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, the Consul, having signified by an Edict he wou'd communicate to the Senate something of the highest Consequence to the Commonwealth, propos'd that a Successor shou'd be appointed to *Cæsar* before his Time was expir'd ; for the War being at an end, the conquering Army ought to be disbanded ; and that *Cæsar* shou'd not be allow'd to stand for the Consulship in his Absence ; since the Law which *Pompey* made in that Case, had never been alter'd in a legal Manner. For it happen'd that in passing the Statute concerning Elections of Magistrates, he utterly forgot to except *Cæsar* from the Clause which disabled any to be Candidates, unless they appear'd on the spot ; tho' after the Law was engraven in Brass, and deposited in the Treasury, he wou'd undertake by his own Authority to correct his Error. Nor did *Marcellus* think it sufficient thus to deprive *Cæsar* of his Provinces, and put him under this Incapacity, but he propounded also to disfranchise the Colonies, which in virtue of the *Vatinian* Law he had sent to *Novum Cornum*, because their Freedom had been obtain'd by his Ambition, and was extended to a greater Number of Persons than the Law permitted.

29. *Cæsar* was allarm'd at this, and judging, as they say, he frequently declar'd, it wou'd be much more difficult for them to degrade him from the first Order in *Rome* to the second, than from the second to the lowest, labour'd all he cou'd to prevent it, partly by the Tribunes, who protested against these Proceedings, and partly by *Servius Sulpicius* the other Consul. And when these Measures were pursued in the following Year by *Caius Marcellus*, who succeeded his Kinsman *Marcus* in the Consulare, he bought off, with an extravagant Sum, *Æmilius Paullus*, Colleague to *Marcellus*, and *Caius Curio* the most violent of the Tribunes, and retain'd them on his side. But  
seeing

seeing all things were impetuously carry'd against him, and that the new Consuls were chosen out of the contrary Faction, he besought the Senate by a Letter, that either he might not be divested of the Privilege which the People had granted him, or that the other Generals shou'd also be order'd to withdraw from their Troops at the same time; concluding, as 'tis imagin'd, he cou'd reassemble his Veterane Soldiers whenever he pleas'd, more easily than *Pompey* cou'd rally his new rais'd Men: And he offer'd his Enemies to give up eight Legions, and the *Transalpine Gaul*, provided he might have two Legions with the Province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, or one Legion with *Illyricum* continu'd to him till he shou'd be elected Consul.

30. But the Senate not interposing in this Affair, and his Adversaries refusing to come to any Agreement with him concerning these Articles, which were of a general Nature, and involv'd the whole Republick, he went into the nether *Gaul*, and having perform'd the Judicial Circuit, fix'd his Quarters at *Ravenna*, being determin'd, if the Senate pass'd any severe Decrees against the Tribunes who had declar'd in his Favour, to avenge it by Force of Arms. This was the Pretence he gave out to justify the Civil War which follow'd; tho' it is believ'd there were other Reasons which engag'd him in it. *Pompey's* Opinion was, that not being able at his own Expence to finish the Buildings he had begun, nor to answer the Expectations he had fill'd the People with, of what he wou'd do at his Return, he resolv'd to throw all things into a general Confusion. Others say, he was afraid he shou'd be made to account for his arbitrary Proceedings in his first Consulate, which were contrary to Religion, the Laws and the Remonstrances of other Magistrates. For *M. Cato* declar'd often, and even swore he would impeach him, as soon as ever he had dismiss'd his Army: And it was a popular Report, that if he came home in a private Character, he wou'd be arrested after the  
Ex-



Example of *Milo*, and brought to his Trial under a Guard. And this carries the more Probability in it, because *Asinius Pollio* relates that *Cæsar* viewing the Slaughter of the Enemy at *Pharsalia*, cry'd out, *Themselves have done this : Unhappy Cæsar after all his glorious Actions, had been condemn'd, if he had not implor'd Help of his Army.* Some indeed imagine, that elevated by having been long accusom'd to command, and computing his own and his Enemies Forces, he embrac'd this Occasion of seizing that Dominion, upon which from his Childhood he had fix'd his Views. And *Cicero* seems to have been of this Mind : For in the Third Book of his Offices, he says *Cæsar* had these Verses of *Euripides* continually in his Mouth,

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia  
Violandum est : aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

If Sacred Right may e'er be trampled down,  
'Tis when the Prize propounded is a Crown :  
In other things be just and Vertue own. S

31. Receiving Advice therefore, that the Protests of the Tribunes on his Behalf were rejected, and themselves oblig'd to retire from the City, he caus'd his Troops to move off secretly before ; and not to awaken any Suspicion, appear'd at the publick Shews, and consulted about a Plan of a Fencing-School which he intended to erect, and eat frequently in Publick, after his usual manner. But immediately at Sun-set he brought forth some Mules he had conceal'd ready at hand in a neighbouring Bakehouse, and putting them into his Chariot set forward very privately with a slender Attendance : The Torches going out on the Road, he lost his Way, and wander'd all Night, till meeting with a Guide at Break of Day, he pursu'd his Journey on Foot thro' narrow and difficult Paths ; and coming up to his Forces at the River *Rubicon*, the Boundary of his Province, he made

made a Pause, and revolving in himself the Importance of the Action he was about to undertake, he turn'd to those who stood by, *As yet, says he, we have it in our Power to retreat; but if we once pass this little Bridge, we must thenceforth manage all things by the Sword.*

32. As he linger'd, there was presented to him this Omen. A Person of a large Stature and graceful Mein, suddenly appear'd sitting near him, and playing on a Pastoral Pipe, and when beside the Shepherds, several Soldiers forsook their Ranks, and gather'd round to hear him, and among them some Trumpeters; the Appearance snatch'd one of their Trumpets, and plunging into the River blew a vigorous Charge, and swam to the other side; *Let us go, said Cæsar, whith'er the Omen of the Gods, and the Inhumanity of our Enemies call us. The Die is cast.*

33. Having thus pass'd over his Army, and receiv'd the Tribunes who fled to him upon their Expulsion, he made an Oration to the Soldiers; and with Tears in his Eyes, and his Garments all rent, passionately intreated them not to desert him. It was also reported, that he promis'd to advance each Man to the *Equestrian* Order; but this happen'd by a Mistake. For frequently shewing the Ring Finger of his left Hand in the Vehemence of the Harangue, he declar'd he wou'd very willingly divest himself of that Ensign of Honour, for the sake of any who shou'd assist him in defending his Dignity, the farther Part of the Audience, who cou'd better see the Speaker than hear him, imagin'd that to be express'd in the Discourse, which was only discern'd by their Eyes: And hence it was immediately divulg'd, that the Honour of the Ring and four hundred thousand Sesterces were promis'd them. I shall briefly relate his Actions which succeeded, in the Order they were perform'd.

34. He seiz'd on *Ficenum*, *Umbria* and *Etruria*, and forcing *L. Domitius*, who had been nominated for his Successor in the Hurry of the late Debates, and now held

held *Confinium* with a Garrison, to surrender: He releas'd him and coasted the *Adriatick* Sea to *Brun-duſium*, whither *Pompey* and the Consuls had fled, intending to embark without delay. Having in vain attempted to shut them up in the Port, he march'd away to *Rome*; and after he had assembled the Senate upon the present Disposition of Affairs, he advanc'd against the bravest and best appointed of all *Pompey's* Forces, which were then commanded by three Lieutenants in *Spain*, *M. Petrius*, *L. Afranius*, and *M. Varro*, telling his Friends at his Departure, *He was going to meet an Army without a General, but he shou'd come back to meet a General without an Army.* And tho' he was retarded by the Siege of *Marseilles*, which shut the Gates against him in his Passage, and by an extreme Scarcity of Provision, yet he made a compleat Conquest in a very little time.

35. Returning hence to *Rome*, he went into *Macedonia*, and having block'd up *Pompey* for almost four Months, by an amazing Preparation of Military Works, he at last totally routed him in the Battle of *Pharsalia*, and pursu'd him to *Alexandria*; where finding him murder'd, he turn'd his Arms, tho' under extraordinary Difficulties, against King *Ptolomy*, who, he perceiv'd, was also practising against his Life. The Place and the Season of the Year were both disadvantageous; for it was Winter, and he was enclos'd, bare and unprovided of Necessaries, within the City of a well furnish'd and subtile Enemy. After the Victory, he entrusted the Kingdom of *Ægypt* with *Chopatra* and her younger Brother, being afraid to make it a Province, lest coming some time or other under the Command of an enterprising Governor, it shou'd be the Occasion of new Commotions. From *Alexandria* he went into *Syria*, and from thence to *Pontus*, being hasten'd thither by repeated Advices concerning *Pharnaces*, the Son of *Mithridates* the Great, whom, taking advantage of the *Roman* Confusions to begin a War, and insolent with numerous Successes, *Cæsar* finally vanquish'd in a  
single



single Battle within five Days after his Arrival, and four Hours after he came in sight of the Enemy. Upon which he frequently observ'd the good Fortune of *Pompey*, who had purchas'd the greater part of his Military Glory by engaging so weak and enervate a Foe. After this, *Scipio* and *Juba* rallying the shatter'd Remnants of their Party in *Africk*, he routed them, and *Pompey's* Sons in *Spain*.

36. In all the Civil Wars he receiv'd no Defeat, unless it were in his Lieutenants; of whom *C. Curio* was kill'd in *Africa*, *C. Antonius* was taken by the Enemy in *Illyricum*, and *P. Dolabella* lost his Fleet in the same Place, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* his Army. When he fought in Person he was always successful, and was never in the least Hazard of the Event, except twice; once at *Dyrrachium*, where he gave Ground, and *Pompey* not pushing the Advantage, he said *Pompey* knew not how to conquer; another time, in his last Battel in *Spain*, where he was brought into so desperate a Posture, that he was on the Point of dispatching himself with his own Hands.

37. The Wars being finish'd, he made five Triumphs, four of which were perform'd after the overthrow of *Scipio*, in one Month, but at some Days distance; and the fifth was upon the Defeat of *Pompey's* Sons. The first and most splendid was the *Gallick*, the second was the *Alexandrine*, the next the *Pontick*, then came the *African*, and lastly the *Spanish*; in all which the Decorations and Invention were different. The Day of the *Gallick* Triumph, as he was passing by the \* *Velabrum*, he narrowly escap'd being thrown out of the Chariot, by the breaking of the Axis. He ascended the Capitol with Torches, forty Elephants marching on each Hand, with Flambeaus. Among the Pageants and Representations in the *Pontick* Triumph, there was borne before him a De-  
vice

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\* A Place in Rome, near the Oxen-Market, in which Tradesmen's Booths were erected for selling several sorts of Goods.



vice of three Words ; *VENI, VIDI, VICI* ; *I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUER'D* ; not expressing, like the others, the Actions of the War, but the wonderful Celerity of the Conquest.

38. Instead of Plunder he gave to the Foot of the Veteran Legions, twenty Thousand Sesterces a Man, beside the Two thousand he had divided among them at the beginning of the War, and to the Horse Forty thousand. He also assign'd them Lands, but in several Parts of the Country, lest otherwise the Proprietors shou'd be wholly dispossest'd. To the People, besides ten Bushels of Corn, and as many Pints of Oil, he gave three Hundred Sesterces apiece, which he had formerly promis'd them, and threw in a Hundred more to make amends for delay of Payment. He remitted one Year's Rent to them who paid two Thousand Sesterces a Year in *Rome*, or not above five Hundred in *Italy*, and made a Publick Feast, and the usual Distribution of raw Flesh from House to House ; and after his *Spanish* Victory he treated with two Dinners : For thinking the former too sparing, and beneath his Munificence to bestow, he presented, five Days after, another very costly and delicate.

39. He exhibited Shews of several Kinds ; Gladiators combated, and Plays were perform'd in every Part of the City by Actors of all Languages ; there were also the *Circensian* Games, Wrestling, and Sea-Fights. *Furius Leptinus*, who was of a Pretorian Family, and *Q. Calpurnius*, formerly a Senator and Pleader at the Bar, fought a Prize in the *Forum*. Princes Sons of *Asia* and *Bithynia* danc'd the † *Pyrrick* Dance. *Decimus Laberius*, a Roman Knight, play'd the *Mimus* in a Scene of his own writing, and \* receiving the Purse

† *A Dance perform'd by Men in Armour.*

\* *He had lost his Quality by Acting, to which Cæsar now restor'd him, by giving him the Estate and Badge of a Roman Knight.*



Purse of five Hundred Thousand Sesterces and the Gold Ring, he came off the Stage and proudly pass'd along by the Senators Seats, and took his Place among the Knights. To make it commodious for the Games, the *Circus* was enlarg'd on every side, and moated round with a Canal. Young Noblemen vaulted, and drove the Race-Chariots; and two Troops consisting one of elder Boys, and the other of younger, perform'd the *Trojan Exercise*. Huntings of wild Beasts were continu'd five Days successively: And lastly a Battle was represented, five Hundred Foot, twenty Elephants, and three Hundred Horse engaging on a Side; and to give the Combatants Field Room, the Goals at each End of the Plain were remov'd, and two opposite Camps were pitch'd there in their stead. The Wrestlers contended for three Days, in a Place purposely prepar'd in the *Campus Martius*. A Canal was cut in the less \* *Codeta*, upon which a Sea-Fight was acted by *Tyrian* and *Egyptian* Gallies of two, of three and of four Pairs of Oars, each carrying a large Complement of Men. To all which Spectacles such Crouds resorted from every Quarter, that Multitudes of Strangers were oblig'd to lodge in stragling Hamlets, or under Sheds built up in the Streets; and sometimes several were stifled to death in the Press, among whom were two Senators.

40. Addressing himself after this to modelling the State, he first reform'd the Kalendar, which was brought into such Confusion by the Remissness of the High Priests, who made the Intercalation uncertainly and at pleasure, that the Harvest neither happened in the Summer Quarter, nor the Vintage in the Autumnal. He accommodated the Year to the Course of the Sun, and made it consist of 365 Days, and striking out the Leap-Month, added a Day to every fourth Year. And that a more just Calculation might be preserv'd to Posterity, he began his Account

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\* A large Field so call'd, beyond the Tiber.

count from the Kalends of *January*, and inserted two Months between *November* and *December*; by which Means the Year, when this Regulation was made, contain'd fifteen Months; for the Leap-Month fell into it of course.

41. He fill'd up the Vacancies in the Senate, created new Patricians, and enlarg'd the Number of the Pretors, Ediles, Questors, and of the inferiour Magistrates, restoring those who had been remov'd by the Censors, or whom the Judges had condemn'd for Corruption in Elections. He assum'd an equal Share with the People in chusing Magistrates; so that one half of the Candidates for any Office, excepting the Consulate, were to be nominated by them, while he appointed the other: At which times he us'd to send round the Tribes a short Letter in this Form; *Cæsar the Dictator to such a Tribe. I recommend to you such an one to be chosen by your Suffrages into such a Place.* He also made the Children of those who were proscrib'd, capable of bearing Honours; and restrain'd all Trials to two Sorts of Judges; namely, to such as were of the Equestrian and Senatorian Rank; abolishing the Tribunes of the Treasury, who had compos'd a Third. He made a Review of the People, but neither after the ancient Manner, nor in the usual Place; for it was perform'd from Street to Street by the several Landlords: And of 2300000 who had Corn allow'd them from the Publick Stores, he reduc'd the Number to 150000. And to prevent any tumultuous Concourse which might be hereafter occasion'd by making such another Review, he ordain'd the Pretor shou'd by Lot annually supply the Vacancies which fell by Deaths, with some who had not been enroll'd in this Number before.

42. Having sent out Eighty Thousand Citizens to the Foreign Colonies, in order to repopulate the City which was exhausted by the Draught, he order'd, That no Citizen exceeding Twenty, and under Forty Years of Age, who was not serving in the Army, shou'd be absent from *Italy* above three Years together;

ther ; nor any Senator's Son be permitted to travel, unless he belong'd to some Magistrate's Train : And oblig'd the Breeders of Cattel to have at least a Third Part of their Herdsmen Free-mens Sons. He made all Physicians and Teachers of Liberal Arts free of the City, at once to encourage them to inhabit there, and to invite others thither. Concerning the Debtors, who were in expectation of an Act of Absolvence which had been often solicited, he at last decreed they shou'd satisfie their Creditors according to the Value at which they had purchas'd their Possessions before the Civil War, deducting from the Principal whatever they had paid or agreed to for Interest. By which means the Creditors lost almost a Fourth Part of the Debr. All City Companies, unless those of an ancient Institution, he abolish'd, and augmented the Punishments of Criminals. And since the Rich were embolden'd to act any Villany, because they were suffer'd to carry off all their Patrimony with them in their Exile, he ordain'd, as *Cicero* relates, that Murderers shou'd lose the whole, and other Offenders half of their Estates.

43. He administred Justice with the utmost Application and Severity, † degrading from their Order, even if it were the Senatorian, any who were convicted of Bribery. He revers'd the Marriage of a Person of the Pretorian Rank, because he had marry'd a Woman within Two Days after her Divorce from a former Husband, tho' there was not the least Suspicion of Dishonesty. He laid a Duty upon Foreign Commodities ; and prohibited the use of Litters, of the Purple Garment, and of Jewels, unless to certain Persons, and of such an Age, and upon particular Days. He caus'd the Sumptuary Laws to be strictly executed ; placing Overseers round the Shambles, to seize and bring away to him all prohibited Provisions ; and sometimes when any happen'd to escape the

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† Before they were only banish'd and fin'd, but did not forfeit their Quality.



the first Officers, he secretly sent a Band of Lictors and Soldiers home to the Family, who had bought them, to carry off the Meat, tho' it was serv'd to Table before they came.

44. And now he was every day forming new and more noble Inventions for adorning and enlarging the City, and establishing and amplifying his Power. Thus he intended to erect a Temple to *Mars*, far beyond what had been ever known; and to this end the Lake in which he had presented the Sea-Fight, was to be fill'd up and levell'd. He projected a Theatre of a wonderful Magnitude near the *Tarpeian* Mountain; and undertook to reduce the Civil Law into Compass, and out of a diffus'd and infinite Multitude of Statutes, to select the most valuable and necessary, and comprize them in a few Volumes. He resolv'd to found a noble Library of *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, the Collecting and Digesting of which he entrusted to *Varro*. He propos'd also to drain the Marshes of *Pomptina*, to discharge the *Fucine* Lake, and pave a Cauley from the *Adriatick* Shore across the Ridge of the *Alps* quite to the *Tiber*; to cut thro' the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, and drive back the *Daci*, who had overrun *Pontus* and *Thrace*; and afterwards to open a War against the *Parthians* in *Armenia* the less, but \* not give them Battel before he had made some Essays of the Force and Genius of their Nation. But as he was marking out such Designs, he was prevented from putting them in Execution, by his Death: Before I speak of which, it will not be improper briefly to describe his Person and Habit, his Behaviour and Manners, and such Particulars as relate to his Civil and Military Exercises.

45. He is said to have been of a lofty Stature, a fair Complexion, and well proportion'd in his Limbs; some-

C 2

some-

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\* Cæsar resolv'd upon this Precaution, that he might not fall into the same Misfortune with *Crassus*, who was cut off with his whole Army by the treacherous Artifices of the *Parthians*, and thro' his Ignorance of their manner of Fighting.

somewhat full-fac'd, with black and sparkling Eyes ; and very healthy, except that toward the End of his Life he was subject to suddain Swoonings, and to be frightned in his Dreams. He was also surpris'd twice with the Falling Sickneſs in the miſt of Buſineſs. In the Care of his Body he was ſo extreamly nice, that he wou'd not only be exactly ſhaven, but even caus'd the Hairs to be taken out by the Root, as ſome have reproach'd him. He was very much troubled at his Baldneſs, which he obſerv'd was frequently made the Sport of malignant Wits ; and therefore to ſupply this Deſect, he us'd to bring his Hair forward from the Crown of his Head. And of all his Honours decreed him by the Senate and People, he receiv'd none more gratefully, nor us'd with more Delight, than the Privilege of conſtantly wearing a Laurel. He was particular, as it is reported, in his Dreſs ; for he wore his Senator's Coat with Fringes at the Wriſt, and always girt it about him, tho' very looſely ; which occaſion'd the Saying of *Sylla*, who often warn'd the Nobles to *beware of the ill-girt Youth*.

46. At firſt he dwelt in a common Houſe in the † *Subura* ; but after his Pontificate he liv'd in one of the publick Buildings in the *Via Sacra*. Tis ſaid he wonderfully affected Neatneſs, and was very fond of making Entertainments. The Villa which he began in the *Aricinian* Grove from the Foundation, and finiſh'd with great Expence, not anſwering his Expectation, he pull'd it down again to the Ground, tho' he was then neceſſitous and much in Debt. In his Expeditions he always carry'd with him a Pavement of chequer'd Marble to lay down for a Flooring in his Tent.

47. The Thing which invited him to *Britain* was the Hope of the Pearls which lay on that Coaſt, whoſe Weight he us'd to examine by his Hand, and accurately compar'd their Bulk. He greedily collected Jewels, Works of Low Relief, Statues and Paintings of Antiquity ;

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† A famous Street in Rome.

Antiquity ; and wou'd purchase graceful and unbroken Slaves at an immense Price, of which he was so ashamed, that he order'd it not to be enter'd in his Accounts.

48. During his Government in the Provinces he always kept Two open Tables ; at one of which the meaner People and the *Greeks* were receiv'd, and at the other the *Roman* Nobility and the most Honourable Persons of the Province. He was so severe in his Domestick Discipline, with respect to trivial Matters as well as greater, that he once laid his Baker in Irons for not serving the same Sort of Bread to the Guests, as to himself ; and put to death a Freed-Man, his particular Favourite, for debauching the Wife of a *Roman* Knight, tho' no Complaint was brought against him for it.

49. His \* Chastity suffer'd no Imputation, but from his cohabiting with *Nicomedis*, which was a deep and eternal Blemish, and made him the Subject of every one's Reflections. I omit the known Verses of *Calvus Licinius*,

——— *whate'er Bithynia's Land*  
*And Cæsar's Royal Lover cou'd command.*

And the Accusations of *Dolabella* and *Curio* the Father, in which *Dolabella* styles him *The Corrupter of the Queen*, and *Bedfellow to the King* ; and *Curio* calls him *Nicomedes's Stable*, and *the Stew of Bithynia*. I pass over also the Edicts of *Bibulus*, wherein he terms his Colleague *The Queen of Bithynia* ; and says, *That as before he had a Passion for a King, he was now in Love with a Kingdom*. At this time, as *M. Brutus* relates, one *Offavius*, a Fellow who boldly threw out any thing without Fear or Discretion, having in a numerous Assembly given *Rompey* the Appellation of

C 3

King,

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\* It may be proper to observe once for all, that *Suetonius* by Chastity does not mean abstaining from Fornication and Adultery, but from Sodomy.



King, saluted *Cæsar* with that of Queen. Nay, *C. Memmius* asserts, that he was Cup-bearer to the King, and waited among a Croud of overgrown *Camtamites* at a publick Treat, when several *Roman Merchants* were at Table; whose Names he mentions. Nor was *Cicero* satisfy'd with declaring in some of his Epistles that being led into the Royal Chamber by the Guards, and plac'd in a Purple Habit on a Golden Bed, the magnificent Youth, who was descended from *Venus*, polluted the Flower of his Age in *Bithynia*; but as *Cæsar* was pleading in the Senate in behalf of *Nysa*, the Daughter of *Nicomedes*, and commemorated the Kindnesses he had receiv'd from her Father, *Pray*, says *Tully*, let us hear no more of this, since 'tis well known what the King gave to you, and what you gave to the King. In a word: Among the Verses which the Soldiers, who attended his Chariot in the *Gallick Triumph*, sung merrily as they pass'd, they repeated these remarkable Lines.

\* *Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem :  
Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias :  
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.*

*Cæsar* has *Gallia* subjected to Rome;  
*Nicomedes* has *Cæsar* himself overcome:  
Now *Cæsar* triumphs, who beat *Gaul* to a Wonder,  
But the King has no Triumph, who brought *Cæsar*  
[under.

50. He was always believ'd to have been extremely lascivious, and very expensive in his Loves, corrupting a great many Women, and several of Noble Rank; among whom were *Postumia* the Wife of *Servius Sulpicius*, *Lollia* of *Aulus Gabinus*, *Tertulla* of *M. Crassus*, and even *Mucia* the Wife of *Cn. Pompey*. For  
it

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\* The Satire of these Verses lies in the Word *subegit*; which, when apply'd to *Cæsar*, signifies simply his conquering the Gauls, and when apply'd to *Nicomedes*, it has an impure Sense, and signifies his defiling of *Cæsar*.

it is certain that *Pompey* was upbraided by *Curio*, the Father and Son, and by others, that *his Ambition of Power* had caus'd him to marry the Daughter of that Man, on whose account he had divorc'd his Wife after she had born him Three Children, and whom he had often with Indignation pronounc'd a Second *Ægisthus*. But his prevailing Affection was to *M. Brutus's* Mother, *Servilia*; to whom he presented in his Consulship a Pearl valu'd at Sixty Hundred Thousand Sesterces; and besides other Gifts in the Civil War, he procur'd for her in the Publick Sales several noble Estates at an inconsiderable Purchase. And when some wondred at the Cheapness of the Price, You'd think it a more lumping Bargain still, said *Cicero* facetiously, if ye knew that *\* Tertia est deducta*. For it was commonly believ'd, that *Servilia* had presented her Daughter *Tertia* to *Cæsar*.

51. Nor did he spare the Wives of Provincial Men, as appears by this Distich sung also by the Soldiers at the *Gallick* Triumph.

*Urbani servate uxores, mæchum calvum adducimus,  
Aurum in Gallia, &c.*

Your Wives, good Citizens, with Care restrain,  
The bald Adulterer is come home again.  
In *Gaul* his Mistresses still cost him dear;  
But now at your Expence he'll borrow here.

52. He had a Passion also for several Queens; among whom was *Eumoe* a Moorish Queen, the Wife of *Bogud*, upon whom and upon her Husband he bestow'd many magnificent Presents, as *Naso* reports. But *Cleopatra* was the Sovereign of his Heart, with  
C 4 whom

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\* This Joke of *Cicero* turns upon the double Meaning of the Words *Tertia* and *deducta*; which signify literally, that a Third Part of the Price was abated, but in the allusive Sense, that *Tertia* was given up to *Cæsar's* Embraces.

whom he often sat feasting till Break of Day, and whom he had certainly accompany'd in the same Pleasure Boat as far as *Æthiopia*, if the Army had not flatly refus'd to follow him. And at her Departure from *Rome*, whither his Invitation had drawn her, he profusely heap'd on her the noblest Honours and Gifts, and consented she shou'd call her Son by his Name, who, according to some *Greek Writers*, resembled *Cæsar* both in his Person and Gate. And *M. Antonius* declar'd to the Senate, that *Cæsar* had own'd him, and that *C. Matius* and *C. Oppius*, and other Friends of *Cæsar*, knew this to be true: And *Oppius*, as if the Affair stood in need of a Vindication, publish'd a Treatise to prove, *The Son whom Cleopatra laid to him, was none of Cæsar's*. *Helvius Cinna* the Tribune acknowledg'd to several, that he had by him a Bill ready engross'd, which *Cæsar* had order'd him to cause to be pass'd in his Absence, by which he shou'd be empower'd to marry what and as many Wives as he pleas'd, for the sake of having Issue. And to put it past Question, that he was infamous for passive Impurity and for Adulteries, *Curio* the Father calls him in an Oration, *Every Woman's Man, and every Man's Woman*.

53. His Enemies have always allow'd him to be no Drinker. For it was a Saying of *M. Cato*, that *Cæsar* was the only sober Man who ever went to overturn the State. *C. Octavius* says he was so indifferent as to his Eating, that his Host having once serv'd up a rank stale Oil, instead of fresh drawn, the rest of the Guests wou'd not touch it, but *Cæsar* eat of it very largely, that he might not seem to accuse his Host of Carelessness or ill Breeding.

54. In all his Employments and Offices he never practis'd Self-denial in Matters of Gain. For as some Histories assure us, he beg'd Money of the Proconsul and the Allies in *Spain*, to help him to clear off his Debts; and he plunder'd several Towns in *Portugal*, tho' they had not disobey'd his Orders, and had readily open'd their Gates to him at his Approach. In  
Gaul



*Gaul* he rifled the Fanes and Temples of the Gods, which were enrich'd with Oblations, and demolish'd some Cities, more for the sake of the Booty, than in Revenge of any Offence. By these Means he amass'd abundance of Gold, and was able to sell in *Italy* and the Provinces, the Surplus which was beyond what his private Occasions requir'd, for \* Three Thousand Sesterces a Pound. In his first Consulship he robb'd the Capitol of Three Thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, leaving so much gilded Brass in the room of it. And whatever Foreigners were desirous of the Title of Allies or Kings, he oblig'd them to purchase it; and even from *Ptolomy* alone he drew near Six Thousand Talents upon *Pompey's* Account and his own: And at last he supported the prodigious Expences of the Civil War, and his Triumphs and Shews, by open Rapine and Sacrilege. In Eloquence and Military Conduct he equal'd, if not exceeded the Reputation of the most celebrated Men in either Art.

55. After his Impeachment of *Dolabella*, he was always esteem'd as one of the principal Pleaders of his Age. And *Cicero*, we know, enumerating the chief Orators in his Treatise inscrib'd to *Brutus*, declares, *He did not know one whom Cæsar had any reason to give place to.* He says, *His Manner of Expression was elegant, shining and magnificent, and very genteel: And in a Letter to Cornelius Nepos, For which, says he, of the Orators, even of them who have wholly apply'd themselves to the Profession, will you prefer to Cæsar? Whose Sentences are more pointed, or whose Words are more nobly and beautifully chosen?* In his Youth he seems to have made *Strabo Cæsar* his Pattern in Eloquence; from whose Oration for the City of *Sardis*, he has verbally taken several Passages in his Plea intitul'd *The Divination*. He pronounc'd with an acute Tone of Voice, and with a Gesture ardent and lively, and not ungraceful. There are several Orations of his remaining;

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among

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\* *Hard* . . . 161 *Sterling.*

among which some are inadvertently number'd ; as for Instance, that for *Q. Metellus*, which *Augustus* justly concludes, is rather a Copy taken imperfectly at the Time of speaking, by the Notaries, than a just one publish'd by himself. For in some Manuscripts I see it is not inscrib'd, *For Metellus*, but---which he wrote to *Metellus*, the Oration running in the Person of *Cæsar*, who undertakes to justify *Metellus* and himself from the Imputations of their common Accusers. The Harangue, also, to the Soldiers in Spain, *Augustus* thinks is scarcely genuine : There are Two of this Kind, one made before his first, and the other before his last Engagement in those Parts ; but *Asinius Pollio* says, the Attack of the Enemy was then so precipitate, that there was no Time allow'd to make a Speech.

56. He has left Commentaries of his own Actions, and of the Gallick and Civil War. For the History of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa* and *Spain*, is the Work of an uncertain Author, some ascribing it to *Oppius*, and others to *Hirtius*, who finish'd the last Book of the Gallick War, which was imperfect. Concerning the Commentaries of *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, in his Discourse to *Brutus* mention'd above, thus gives his Opinion, His Commentaries are indeed finely written ; they are plain, correct, and handsomely compos'd, without Embellishments of Style. And while he has thus prepar'd the Materials of a History for any who are willing to undertake it, he has perhaps oblig'd the Writers of a gay and frivolous Genius, who will be ready to touch up his Work with all the Colours and Decorations they can, but he has certainly deterr'd all sober and sensible Men from writing. *Hirtius* says of them, They are so universally approv'd, that he seems rather to have prevented other Writers, than to have assisted them. They appear the more wonderful to me, than to others ; because tho' others see how correct and just they are, yet I know how readily and swiftly he wrote them. *Pollio Asinius* takes them not to be compil'd with sufficient Exactness and Fidelity ; because *Cæsar* has rashly set down many things upon Trust which were per-

perform'd by others, and even what he acted himself, he has related very carelessly, either on purpose or thro' Forgetfulness, and therefore he supposes, he intended to revise and mend them. He has left Two Books concerning *Analogy*, and Two written against *Cato*, under the Title of \* *Anti-Cato's*; also a Poem call'd *The Journey*. He wrote the first Two in his Passage over the *Alps*, as he return'd to the Army from the Judicial Circuit in the *hither Gaul*; the next he compos'd about the time of the Battle of *Munda*, and the last when he march'd in Twenty four Days from *Rome* to the farther *Spain*. There are also extant Letters of his to the Senate, by which it seems he was the first who wrote from Leaf to Leaf, in the Form of a Note-Book; for before it was the Custom of the Consuls and Generals to leave a convenient Space on each Hand, and when they had fill'd the Side, to turn the Paper and write along the Margin, and not to begin upon another Leaf. There are Epistles of his to *Cicero* and to his Friends about domestick Affairs; in which, when he design'd to communicate a Secret, he us'd Characters, placing the Letters in so inverted an Order, that it was impossible to make an entire Word out of them; but the Way to decypher them, is to exchange every Fourth Letter in the Alphabet, and read *d* for *a*, and so of the rest. He is said also to have written some things when he was very young, as *The Praises of Hercules*, *A Tragedy of OEdipus*, and *A Collection of Sayings*; all which *Augustus* forbid to be publish'd, in a plain and concise Letter which he sent to *Pompeius Macrus*, whom he had employ'd to compile a Library.

57. He was perfect Master of his Weapons, and a compleat Horseman, and patient of Labour beyond Belief, marching before his Troops sometimes on Horseback, but oftner on Foot, and bareheaded in all Weather, whether it was open Sunshine or Rain.

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\* These were in Answer to a Treatise of *Cicero*, entituled *Cato*, in Praise of *Cato of Utica*.



Rain. He perform'd Marches of a surprising Length : with an incredible Celerity, travelling a Hundred Miles a Day in an ordinary Carriage. If Rivers oppos'd him in his Way, he swam over, or pass'd them on Bladders, so that he often prevented the News of his Approach. In undertaking an Enterprize 'tis uncertain whether he was more cautious or daring.

58. He never led his Army thro' hazardous Ways, till he had first well survey'd the Situation of the Country ; nor did he make the Descent upon *Britain* before he had in Person view'd the Ports, the Seas, and the Avenues of the Coast. Yet this same *Cæsar*, when he heard his Camp was besieg'd in *Germany*, ventur'd singly into the Enemies Quarters in the Habit of a *Gaul*, and boldly pass'd thro' them to his own Men : And once in the middle of Winter he made his Way thro' Two Fleets of the Enemy from *Brundisium* to *Dyrrachium* ; and the Troops he had order'd to follow him, not coming up, after several Messages to hasten them, at last muffling up himself, he put to Sea in a small Boat by Night, without any Attendant ; nor did he discover himself, or suffer the Pilot to lie by for the Storm, till he was almost overfet by the Waves.

59. He was never terrified or diverted from his Designs by any Religious Omens. When the Victim broke loose and † ran away from the Sacrificer, it did not cause him to defer his Expedition against *Scipio* and *Juba*. And he turn'd the Omen of his Falling down at his Landing to a fortunate Sense, crying out, *Africk, I thus embrace thee*. And to elude the Prophecies, that the Name of the *Scipio's* was fated to be glorious and invincible in those Parts, he kept a despicable Creature of that Family in the Camp, who in Contempt was call'd \* *Salutio*.

60. He

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† This was always look'd upon as a very ill Presage.

\* A Nick-Name given him from *Salutio* an infamous Player.

60. He gave Battle not only at appointed Times, but also upon any sudden Occasion which was presented him, and often began the Fight immediately after a March, and in the foulest Weather, when no one cou'd imagine he wou'd have been in Motion. Nor did he abate of this Forwardness to Action, till the latter Part of his Life; and then it became his Opinion, that the oftner he had conquer'd, the less Reason he had to put his Fortune to Hazard, and that the Advantages of a Victory cou'd not equal the Infamy and Mischiefs, which wou'd arise from one Defeat. He never routed an Enemy, but he also drove him from his Camp, and so gave him no Time to recover from his Confusion. If a Battle was doubtful, he sent all the Horses out of the Field, beginning with his own, that the Soldiers might stand to their Arms more desperately, when they saw themselves depriv'd of the Means of Flight.

61. The Horse he rode on, was very remarkable; for his Feet almost resembled a Man's, and his Hoofs divided in the manner of Toes. *Cæsar* had bred him very tenderly from a Foal, because the Sooth-sayers declar'd he portended to his Owner the Empire of the World; and when the Beast wou'd admit no other Rider, he back'd him first himself, and afterwards erected him a Statue before the Temple of *Venus Genitrix*.

62. He often restor'd the Fight, when it was staggering, by his single Bravery, planting himself full in the Way of those who fled, and stopping several, drew them back by Force, and turn'd their Face to the Enemy, even when they were in such a wonderful Consternation, that a Standard-Bearer whom he laid hold on in his Flight, offer'd at him with the pointed End of his Staff; and another breaking from him in the Struggle, ran away, leaving the Ensign in his Hand.

63. He gave yet greater Instances of the Intrepidity and Firmness of his Mind. After the Battle of  
*Phar-*

*Pharſalia*, having ſent his Forces before him into *Aſia*, as he was paſſing the Streights of the *Helliſpont* in a ſmall Transport, he met *L. Caſſius*, who belong'd to the Enemy's Party, with Ten Ships of War; nor did he ſhun him; but bearing up to him, call'd out, and advis'd him to yield, and upon his Submission receiv'd him into his Veſſel.

64. A ſudden Sally of the Enemy at the taking of the Bridge at *Alexandria* forc'd him into a narrow Skiff, and a great many crowding in with him, and overcharging the Boat, he leap'd into the Sea, and ſwam Two hundred Paces to the next Ship, holding his Left Hand above the Water, in his Courſe, to preſerve his Papers, and dragging along his General's Robe in his Teeth, that the Enemy might not triumph in ſo noble a Spoil.

65. In his Soldiers he ſolely regarded Fortitude and Strength, and not an Education or Eſtate; governing them equally by Severity and by Indulgence. For he did not keep them to ſtrict Duty at all Times and Places, but only when the Enemy was near, and then he was very rigid in his Diſcipline; never ſignifying to them beforehand at what Hour he deſign'd to march or to fight, but obliging them to be continually prepar'd whenever he ſaw fit to give the Signal; which he wou'd frequently do when there was no Occaſion, eſpecially in wet Weather and Holidays; and ſometimes ordering them to watch him narrowly, he took an Opportunity to ſlip from them either by Day or in the Night, and march'd away privately, haſt'ning forward with the utmoſt Speed, on purpoſe to fatigue ſuch as did not immediately follow him.

66. If the Report of the Enemy's Forces had ſtruck a Damp into his Troops, his Expedient to animate them and raiſe their Spirits was not by denying or leſſening the Rumour, but by amplifying it, and making it greater than in Truth it was. Thus, when the Expectation of *Juba's* Approach had terrify'd them, he ſummon'd them together, and in



a Speech, Know, says he, *the King will be here in a few Days with Ten Legions, Thirty thousand Horse, and a Hundred thousand light-arm'd Foot, and Three hundred Elephants. And now let no Man seek out for farther Advice, or frame Schemes of his own, but rest satisfy'd in the Information I have given, who certainly know the Thing. If he does not, I am resolv'd to put him into some old batter'd Vessel, and deliver him up to the Mercy of the Winds.*

67. He did not take Notice of all sorts of Crimes, nor punish them according to the usual Methods. He always kept a strict Eye upon Deserters and Mutineers, and treated them with the last Severity, and wink'd at other Offences. Sometimes after a hot Engagement, or a considerable Victory, he excus'd them from Duty, and permitted all manner of Licentiousness and Luxury, boasting that *his Men cou'd fight well in the midst of their Pleasures*. He never call'd them barely *Soldiers*, but styl'd them by the more endearing Compellation of *Fellow Soldiers* in his Orations. He equipp'd them so handsomly that their Arms were adorn'd with Silver and Gold, at once to make a beautiful Appearance, and to provoke them by the Fear of losing them, to retain them more firmly in Battle. His Affection for his Soldiers was so great, that hearing of *Titurinus's* Defeat, he let his Beard and his Hair grow wild, and wou'd not shave himself till he had reveng'd it. By these Means he render'd them absolutely devoted to his Service, and wonderfully heighten'd their Courage.

68. When he began the Civil War, the Centurions of every Legion presented him with a Horseman out of their Pay, and the whole Army agreed to serve him voluntarily without Hire, the Rich among them undertaking to subsist the Poor. Nor in so long a Space of Time was a single Man ever known to desert; and several, who were made Prisoners, refus'd to accept their Lives when offer'd them on Condition of bearing Arms against him. They endur'd Hunger and other Necessities, both when they were besieg'd and in besieging the Enemy, with such Resolution,

solution, that some of the Bread made of Herbs which they fed upon at the Blockade of *Dyrrachium*, being shewn to *Pompey*, he cry'd out, *he had to do with Wild Beasts*, and commanded it to be immediately taken away and conceal'd, lest his own Men shou'd be dispirited, if they saw the wonderful Obstinacy of the Enemy. It is an evident Proof with what Bravery they fought, that when they happen'd once to be worsted in an Engagement at *Dyrrachium*, they made it their Request to be punish'd; so that their General found it more necessary to condole and comfort them than to use Severities for that Miscarriage. In their other Battels they routed vast Forces of the Enemy with Ease, and frequently when themselves were inferior in Numbers. One Cohort of the sixth Legion being appointed to keep a Fort, stood the Fury of four of *Pompey's* Legions for several Hours, till they were almost every one overwhelm'd with Arrows, of which a Hundred and thirty thousand were afterwards taken up in the Trenches. Nor is this surprising if we reflect on the Actions of some particular Men among them, as of *Cassius Scæva*, a Centurion, or of *C. Acilius*, a Common Soldier, to mention no more. *Scæva*, with an Eye dash'd out, and Wounds in his Thigh and Shoulder, and his Shield bor'd thro' with a Hundred and twenty Blows, maintain'd the Pass of the Works where he was posted; and *Acilius*, in a Sea-Fight at *Marseilles*, fasten'd on an Enemy's Ship with his Right Hand; which being cut off, in Imitation of the memorable Example of \* *Cynægirus* among the *Greeks*, he leap'd on board, and beat down all before him with the Boss of his Buckler.

69. In

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\* *An Athenian Soldier, who in a Sea Fight between the Persians and Greeks, caught hold on a Persian Vessel with his Right Hand, and when that was cut off, seiz'd it with his Left, and losing this also, he in a Rage fasten'd on the Ship with his Teeth.*

69. In the ten Years War in *Gaul* they made no Insurrections ; yet in the Civil Wars they sometimes mutiny'd, but were presently recover'd to their Duty, not so much by the Compliance as by the Authority and Awe of their General ; for he never gave way to them in a Rising, but always fac'd them resolutely. He cashier'd the whole Ninth Legion with Disgrace, upon such an Occasion, at *Placentia*, tho' *Pompey* was then in Arms, and was not prevail'd with to restore them till after many supplications and Prayers, and not then neither till he had done Justice on their Leaders.

70. The Tenth Legion clamouring at *Rome* to have their Discharge and their Premium, and threatening highly to the apparent Danger of the City, while the War was on Foot in *Africk*, he immediately went up to them, tho' his Friends dissuaded him, and disbanded them, and made such an Impression on them by a single Word, styling them \* *Quirites*, instead of *Soldiers*, that they presently call'd out to him, They were *Soldiers* ; and tho' he refus'd to accept them, follow'd him voluntarily into *Africk*. Yet after all this he fin'd the principal Mutineers of a third Part of their Share of the Booty and Lands.

71. Even in his Youth he express'd the utmost Fidelity and Zeal in the Service of his Clients. He defended *Masintba*, a young Man of a Noble Family, so impetuously against King *Hiempsal*, that in the Heat of Pleading he took *Juba*, the King's Son, by the Beard ; and when the Cause was lost, and he was declar'd Tributary to *Hiempsal*, *Cæsar* rush'd in and rescu'd him from those who were leading him away, and conceal'd him a long time in his own House ; and when, at the end of his Pretorship, he was setting

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\* Soldiers were of a noble Profession, and were employ'd in the Publick Service, and had several Marks of Honour appointed them according to their Merits, but *Quirites* imply'd no more than private Citizens of the most ordinary Character.



ting out for *Spain*, amid the Train of attending Officers, and the Confusion of those who waited on him to make their Compliments, he carry'd him off with him in his own Litter.

72. He had that Regard and Tenderneſs for his Friends, that *C. Oppius* being taken ill ſuddenly, as they were travelling thro' a Forest, where there was but one Bed to be had in the Inn, he gave up his Lodging to him, and lay himſelf in the open Air on the Ground. And when he was poſſeſs'd of the Empire, he promoted ſome of the Dregs of the People to the higheſt Honours, declaring openly, when he was cenſur'd for it, that *If Highwaymen and Murderers had help'd him to ſupport his Dignity, he wou'd certainly have ſhewn them the ſame Favour.*

73. He never entertain'd a Diſtaſte againſt any one, which he did not readily forget upon the firſt Occaſion. When *C. Memmius*, whoſe furious Ora-tions againſt him he had answer'd with equal Severity, ſtood for Conſul, he gave him his Vote; and *C. Calvus*, ſeeking for a Reconciliation by the Interceſſion of Friends, *Cæſar* prevented all Application, and writ to him firſt of his own Accord; and *Valerius Catullus*, who, as *Cæſar* acknowledg'd, had fix'd an Eternal Blemiſh upon him in his Verſes on *Mamurra*, having ask'd his Pardon, he invited him to Supper the ſame Evening, and continu'd to take up his Quarters in his Father's Houſe, upon a Journey, as he had formerly us'd to do.

74. He was naturally ſlow to Revenge: Thus, when he had oblig'd the Pirates, by whom he was taken Priſoner, to ſurrender themſelves into his Hands, ſince he had ſworn he wou'd crucify them, he yet commanded them to be ſtrangled before they were nail'd to the Croſs. He never troubled *Cornelius Phagita*, who had beſet him ſo cloſely \* Night  
after

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\* See §. 1.

after Night, when he was sick and forc'd to abscond, that it was as much as he cou'd do to prevail on him by Bribes not to deliver him up to *Sylla* ; and *Philemon*, his Amanuensis, who had promis'd his Master's Enemies to poyson him, he executed by a simple Death without Torture. Being summon'd for a Witness against *P. Clodius*, who had debauch'd his Wife *Pompeia*, and was thereby guilty also of *Polluting the Sacred Ceremonies* ; he deny'd his knowing any thing of it, tho' his Mother *Aurelia*, and his Sister *Julia*, had depos'd the whole Affair upon Oath, before the same Judges. And when he was ask'd why he had then divorc'd *Pompeia*, *Because*, he answer'd, *I think all who are related to me, ought as well to be free from Suspicion as actual Guilt.*

75. He shew'd also a wonderful Moderation and Clemency, both in the Civil War, and in his Conduct after the Victory. *Pompey* declar'd he wou'd regard them as Enemies who did not put themselves in Arms for the \* Republick ; but *Cæsar* said, he wou'd esteem all who observ'd a Neutrality as his Friends, and freely allow'd those whom he had promoted at *Pompey's* Recommendation, to go over to his side. Proposals of a Surrender being made at † *Herda*, upon which a free Intercourse was begun between both Parties, *Afranius* and *Petereius* suddenly breaking off the Truce, slew all the Soldiers of *Cæsar* who were found in their Camp, but he disdain'd to retaliate an Action of such perfidious Barbarity upon them. At the Battle of *Pharsalia* he proclaim'd that *all the Citizens shou'd have Quarter*, and hinder'd none of his Men from saving any one Enemy they thought fit ; nor were any known to be kill'd but in Battle, except only *Afranius*, *Fauslus*,  
and

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\* i. e. on his side ; for the State took Part with *Pompey* in the Quarrel between him and *Cæsar*, and appointed him General of all their Forces.

† A City in Spain.

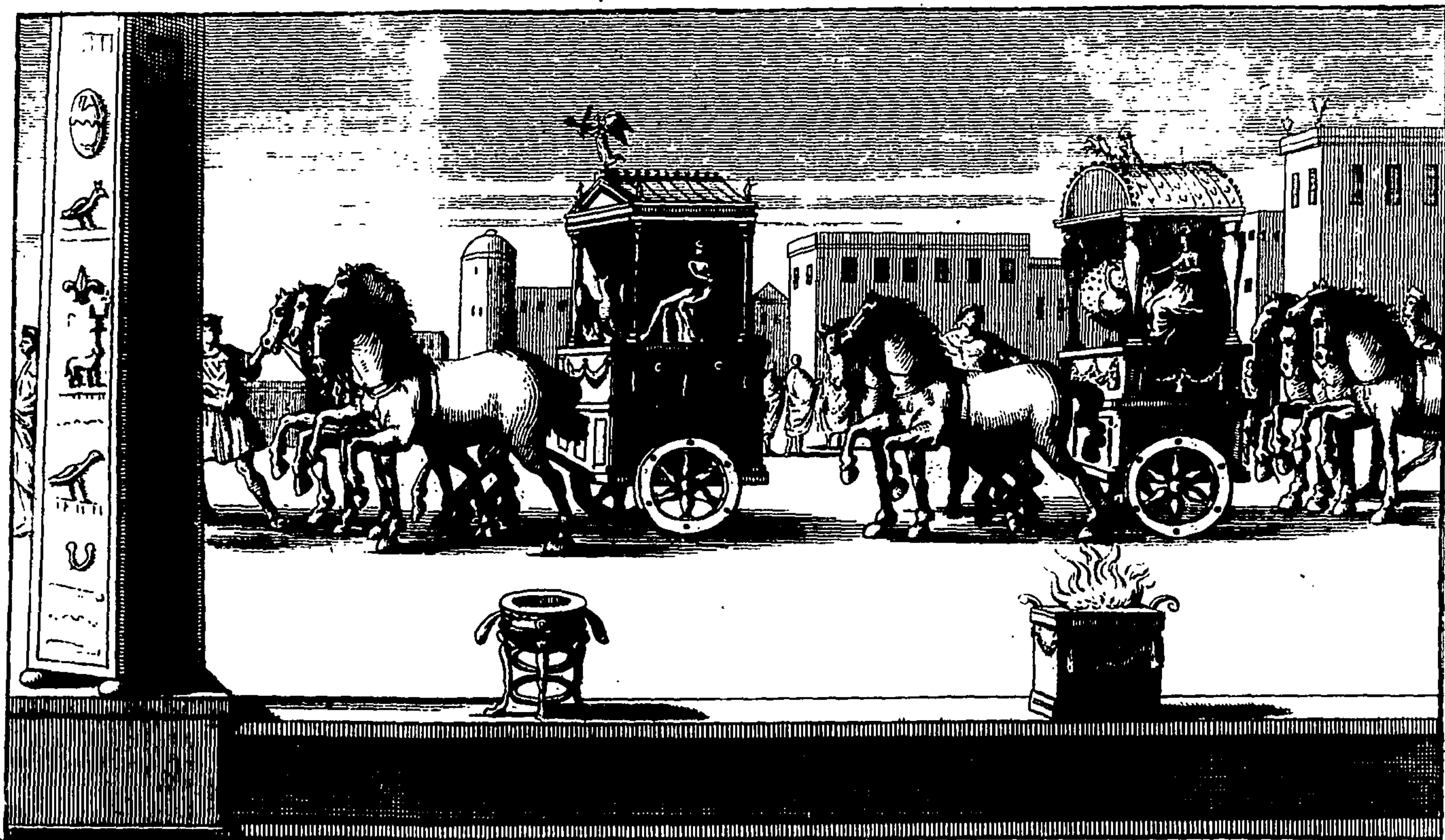
and *L. Cæsar* the younger : And || these, 'tis thought, were not put to Death by his Order, tho' *Faustus* and *Afranius* had borne Arms against him after they were pardon'd, and *L. Cæsar* had in a cruel Manner butcher'd his Freed-Men and Slaves with Fire and Sword, and even knock'd the Beasts on the Head which were prepar'd for his Publick Shews. In a Word, he at last permitted all, whom as yet he had not formally pardon'd, to return into *Italy*, and made them capable of bearing Offices Military and Civil: He also restor'd the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which the People had thrown down. And if any thing was afterwards concerted or spoken in his Prejudice, he chose rather to prohibit than to revenge it ; and therefore he took no farther Notice of Conspiracies, which were discover'd to him, and of Nightly Cabals, than to signify by an Edict, that he knew of them ; and contented himself with giving a publick Caution to those who had declaim'd against him, not to proceed ; and calmly suffer'd *Aulus Cæcina* to vilifie him in a Libel, and *Pitholaus* to stab his Reputation in a malignant Copy of Verses.

76 But his other Actions and Expressions so far outweigh all these, that he seems to have justly perish'd for abusing his Power. For he not only accepted extravagant Honours, such as a Continual Consulate, a Perpetual Dictatorship, and all the Powers of a Cenfor, under a qualified Name, assuming also the Title of *EMPEROR*, and *FATHER* of his Country, and placing his Statue among those of the Kings, and having a particular Seat erected for him in the Theatre ; but he also suffer'd things to be decreed him, which were above a mortal Man ; as a Golden Chair in the Senate House and in the Forum, the Carrying of

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|| *Florus* says that *Faustus* and *Afranius* were executed by his Command ; *Cæsar* thinking he had shewn them Favour enough in once giving them a Pardon.





*Thensa.*

*M. V. Gucht Sen  
p. 45.*

of his Effigies in Procession in a Consecrated \* Chariot at the *Circensian* Games ; also Temples, Altars, Images set up beside those of the Gods ; a sacred Couch for his Shrine, a † *Flamen*, and a Division of the || *Luperci*, and lastly, the Glory of having one of the Months call'd by his Name. In a Word, He receiv'd and gave all manner of Honours at his Pleasure. The Third and Fourth Year he only bore the Title of Consul, but did not act, contenting himself with the Power of Dictator, which was decreed him at the same Time ; and de-puting each Year Two Consuls for the Three last Months ; so that in the mean while he held no ‡ Elections of any Officers besides the Tribunes and Ædiles of the People ; and instead of Pretors he constituted Prefects to govern the City while he was present. The Consulate becoming vacant by the sudden Death of one of the Consuls, on the last Day of *December*, he bestow'd it on one who begg'd it of him for the short Remainder of a few Hours. With the same \* Presumption also he enlarg'd the Term of the Magistrates Offices to several Years, in Contempt of the ancient Custom of making them Annual. He allow'd Ten Men, who had been Pretors, the Honour of wearing the Consular Robes, and receiv'd into the Senate some who had barely the Privilege of

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\* *These Sacred Chariots the Romans call'd by an appropriated Name Thensæ. For the Form of them see the Plate.*

† *A Flamen was an ordinary Priest.*

|| *The Luperci were Priests of a Superiour and more Solemn Order, and belong'd to Pan.*

‡ *The Pretors and Questors, and other Principal Magistrates, ought to have been chosen at stated Times, but Cæsar by thus preventing their Election, kept their several Powers in his own Hands.*

\* *The Consuls were chosen by the whole Body of the People, and no one single Person had a Right to appoint them. But Cæsar was now breaking in upon all Parts of the Constitution.*

of Citizens, and several Gauls who were but half civiliz'd. The Management of the Coin and the Publick Revenues, he put into the Hands of his own Creatures ; and gave the Command of the Three Legions he left at *Alexandria*, to one of his *Patricks*, the Son of his Freed-Man *Rufinus*.

77. No less arbitrary and insulting, according to *T. Ampius*, were several Expressions which fell from him in Publick ; as *That the Republick was become an empty Name, a Shadow without a Substance. That Sylla was a very Fool to lay down the Dictatorship : and That they ought to consider how they address'd themselves to him now, and to regard his Word as a Law.* And he proceeded to such a Degree of Arrogance, that the *Aruspex* telling him once at a Sacrifice, the Entrails were ominous, and wanted a Heart ; But, says he, *they shall prophecy good Fortune whenever I please to have them : For a Beast to be without a Heart, is a trifling Circumstance, there is nothing Portentous in it.*

78. But that which drew upon him the greatest and the most insuperable Odium, was this. The Senators coming to him in a full Body with several very honourable Decrees, which they had pass'd in his Favour, he receiv'd them before the Temple of *Venus*, sitting. Some are of Opinion that he was restrain'd by \* *Cornelius Balbus*, as he was going to rise ; and others, that he did not so much as offer to stand up, but, on the contrary, that *C. Trebatius* prompting him to it, he gave him a very angry Look. This was the more unpardonable in him, because that when *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Tribunes, neglected to rise to him, as he pass'd by their Seats in his Triumph, he was all inflam'd, and in a Passion, Tribune, said he, *I would have you by all means demand the Commonwealth out of my Hands.* And for several Days after

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\* Don't you remember, says *Balbus*, that you are *Cæsar*? and wou'd you not have the Honour paid you which becomes your Quality?

|| He was afterwards one of *Cæsar's* Murderers.



after, he never made a Promise, but with this Exception, *If Pontius Aquila will please to give me leave.*

79. To this Indignity offer'd the Senate, he added an Action yet much more flagrant. For as he was returning from Sacrificing at the *Latin* Festivals, amid the extravagant and unusual Acclamations of the People, some one of the Croud had put a Crown of Laurel with a Diadem upon his Statue, and *Epidius Marcellus* and *Cæsetius Flavus* the Tribunes, commanding the Diadem to be taken down, and the Fellow to be laid in Irons, *Cæsar* provok'd, either that this Insinuation of a Royal Dignity did not succeed, or, as he gave out himself, that he had lost the Glory of refusing it, severely reprimanded the Tribunes, and displac'd them. From this Time he was never able to clear himself from the Imputation of affecting the Title of King; tho' when the Rabble saluted him by that Style, he reply'd, *He was Cæsar, not a King.* And at the \* *Lupercal* Games, *Anthony* the Consul reaching out a Crown to him several times in a numerous Assembly, he still put it back, and at last sent it to be solemnly offer'd to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. A Rumour was also blaz'd abroad, that he design'd to settle at *Alexandria* or *Ilium*, having first transfer'd thither the Riches of the Empire, and drawn off the best Troops from *Italy*, and put the Government of *Rome* into the Hands of some of his Friends: And that at the next Assembly of the Senate, *L. Cotta*, one of the Fifteen who kept the *Sibyline* Prophecies, was to move, since those Oracles pronounc'd the *Parthians* cou'd not be conquer'd but by a King, that *Cæsar* might have the Title confer'd upon him.

80. This oblig'd the Conspirators to hasten the Execution of their Design, lest they shou'd be constrain'd to come into that Proposal. Therefore, whereas they had before consulted separately, Two  
or

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\* Observ'd in Honour of Pan, the God of Shepherds:

or Three of them only being in Company together, they now held a general Meeting of their whole Number. Nor were the People satisfy'd with the present Posture of Things, but in Publick and in Private express'd their Resentments, and wish'd for some to assert their Liberties. Thus upon the Admission of Foreigners into the Senate, there came out the following Lampoon : ORDER'D, *That no Man shew the new Senators the Way to the House.* And these Verses were commonly sung.

*Gallos Cæsar in triumphum ducit ; iidem in curia  
Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumserunt.*

The Gauls, who late did Cæsar's Triumph crown, }  
Have in the Senate laid their Trouzers down, }  
And gravely put the Father's Habit on. }

*Q. Maximus*, whom he had deputed to be one of the Consuls † for Three Months, coming into the Theatre, and the Lictor making the usual Proclamation before him, for the People to do him Honour, they unanimously cry'd out, *He is no Consul.* And *Cæsetius* and *Marcellus* had a great many Votes for the Consulate at the next Election after he had turn'd them out of the Tribuneship. And some body wrote under *Brutus's* Statue, *That thou wert alive !* and under that of *Cæsar*, *Brutus was chosen the first Consul, for expelling the Kings : This Man is at last made King, for expelling the Consuls.* In the Conspiracy against him above Sixty Persons were engag'd ; the Principal of whom were *C. Cassius*, and *Marcus* and *Decimus Brutus*. At first they debated whether they shou'd not form Two separate Bodies, of which one shou'd seize him in the *Campus Martius*, as he was polling the Tribes at an Election, and precipitate him over the Bridge into the *Tiber*, while the other was ready to receive him

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† According to what is mention'd above, § 76.

him below, and dispatch him after his Fall : But the Senate being summon'd to meet in *Pompey's Court* upon the Ides of *March*, they immediately fix'd upon this, as most convenient both for Time and Place.

81. His Murder was presignify'd to him by many apparent Omens. A few Months before it, as a Company of the new Colony he had sent to *Capua*, were demolishing old Sepulchres, and removing Ruins in order to build, and were very intent on their Work, their Curiosity was awaken'd by turning up some Vessels and Relicks of Antiquity ; and in their Progress they found, in a Monument where *Capys*, the Founder of *Capua*, was said to be buried, a Brazen Tablet, on which this Sentence was inscrib'd in *Greek* : *Whenever the Bones of Capys are discover'd, one of the Offspring of || Julius shall be slain by the Hand of his own Kindred, and shall be reveng'd on Italy with prodigious Slaughters.* The Author of this Relation, lest any shou'd think it an idle Fiction, was *Cornelius Balbus*, an intimate Friend of *Cæsar*. Not many Days also before it happen'd, he understood that the Horses which he had consecrated to the Gods at his passing the *Rubicon*, and had turn'd at large into the Field, abstain'd from their Food and wept plentifully. And *Spurinna*, the Augur, warn'd him, as he was sacrificing, to beware of a Danger which threaten'd him before the \* Ides of *March* expir'd. The Day before which Ides, a huge Flock of Birds of several Kinds issuing from a neighbouring Grove, pursu'd a † *Regaliolus* which fled into *Pompey's Court* with a Laurel Branch in her Mouth, and tore her in pieces there. And the Night before the Day of the Action, he seem'd several times in his Sleep to

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soar

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|| *Ascanius, the Son of Æneas, surnam'd Julius, from whom Julius Cæsar claim'd his Descent.*

\* *March 15th.*

† *A very small Bird, perhaps a Wren.*



soar above the Clouds, and to || shake Hands with *Jupiter* : And his Wife *Calpurnia* thought the Pinacle of their House broke down, and that her Husband was stabb'd in her Arms; and the Door of the Bed-Chamber flew open suddenly of its own Accord. In Regard to these Circumstances, and to some Indisposition which hung about him, he consider'd with himself whether he shou'd not keep at home, and put off the Affairs upon which the Senate was assembling to another Time. At last, *D. Brutus* coming in, and pressing him not to disappoint them since there was a full House, and all waited for him, he went forth about the † Fifth Hour; and some body delivering him a Writing by the Way, which laid open the whole Conspiracy, he mingled it among other Papers in his Left Hand, as if intending to read it at Leisure. And not being able to \* propitiate the Gods, tho' he slew a Multitude of Victims, he enter'd the Senate in despite of all the Ceremonies ; and laughing at *Spurinna*, accus'd him for a False Prophet, since the Ides of *March* were come and he had receiv'd no Mischief ; but the Augur reply'd, *Tho' they were come, they were not pass'd.*

82. When he was seated, the Conspirators gather'd round him under Colour of Respect, and *Cimber Tullius*, who undertook to make the first Pass, mov'd up closer to him, as if he were going to present a Petition. *Cæsar* put him by ; and signing to him to defer it, he immediately seiz'd him by the Gown upon both Shoulders, and *Cæsar* crying out, *This is open Violence*, one of the *Cassii* wounded him a little below the Throat. He caught hold on *Cassius's*

|| To dream of being taken up among the Gods, or to shake Hands with them, always with the Antients portended Death.

† Eleven a Clock.

\* Either the Beasts he cut up were deficient in some necessary Part, or he cou'd obtain no propitious Tokens from the Gods by his Sacrifices.

*suus*'s Arm, and pierc'd it thro' with his † Style, and going to rush out, was stopp'd by a second Wound. As soon as he perceiv'd himself invaded on every side with naked Daggers, he wrapp'd up his Head in his Gown, and with his Left Hand brought his Garments over his Legs, that the lower Part of his Body being cover'd he might fall with the greater Decency. And thus he expir'd beneath Three and Twenty Wounds, giving only a single Groan at the first Stab, without speaking a Word; tho' some have reported, that when *M. Brutus* made up to him, he said, *Καὶ σὺ εἶ ἐκείνων, καὶ σὺ τέκνον, And art thou, then, one of them! What thou my Son!* Every one flying out of the House, he lay breathless on the Ground for some time, till at last three of his Servants put him into a Litter and carry'd him home, one of his Arms hanging out all the Way. Among so many Wounds, not one, in the Opinion of *Antistius* the Surgeon, was Mortal, except the second, which he receiv'd in his Breast. The Conspirators had design'd to throw his Carcass into the *Tiber*, to confiscate his Goods, and repeal his Acts; but they were restrain'd by the Fear of *M. Anthony* the Consul, and of *Lepidus* the Master of the Horse.

83. His Will was open'd, at the Instance of his Father-in-Law *L. Piso*, and read in *Anthony's* House. He had made it in the \* Ides of September last at his *Villa* near || *Lavicum*, and †† deposited it with the Head of the

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Vestal

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† An Iron Pen with which the Antients wrote. It was sharp at one End to cut the Letters, and blunted at the other to rase them, if there happen'd to be any Error.

\* September 13.

|| A Town in that Part of Italy which was call'd *Latium*.

†† The Eldest Vestal was the chief. This Order was esteem'd so sacred and venerable, that it was a Custom with the Romans to lodge Wills in their Hands, believing they cou'd no where be better secur'd from Violence, or more carefully preserv'd: For these Virgins were oblig'd to a perpetual Vigilance in order to keep their Holy Fire always burning, since if they let it go out, they forfeited their Lives.

Vestal Virgins. *Q. Tubero* says, that from his first Consulship to the Beginning of the Civil War, he had appointed *Pompey* for his Heir, and publish'd it at the Head of his Army. But in this last Will he constituted the three Grandsons of his Sisters to be his Heirs; namely, *C. Octavius*, of nine Parts of his Possessions, and *L. Pinarius*, and *Q. Pedius* of the remaining three; and at the bottom of the Will he set down the † secondary Heirs. He adopted *Octavius* both into his Family and Name, and had also chosen several of his Murderers for Guardians to his Son, in Case he shou'd leave one, and nominated *D. Brutus* among the secondary Heirs. And to the Body of the People he gave his Gardens beside the *Tiber*, and Three hundred Sesterces a Man.

84. The Time of his Funeral's being proclaim'd, a Pile was form'd in the *Campus Martius*, near his Daughter *Julia's* Tomb. And before the *Rostrum*, at the Temple of || *Venus Genitrix*, was erected a Golden Stand, on which was set a Bed of Ivory, cover'd with Purple and Cloth of Gold, and at the Head was plac'd a Trophy with the Robe in which he was slain. And because one Day wou'd not be sufficient, if they observ'd the usual Forms, it was directed that those who made Oblations to the Dead shou'd not be oblig'd to march in a regular Procession, but might take their Way thro' what Streets of the City they wou'd, and carry their Gifts promiscuously into the Field. While the Games continu'd, several Parts of *Pacuvius's* Tragedy, \* *Of the Judgment of the Arms*, were accommodated to the Occasion, and sung, in order to provoke Commiseration and a Resentment of the Murder: This was one of the Verses,

*Men'me*

† These were to inherit upon the Failure of the first.

|| The Family of the *Julii* was descended from *Venus*. See §. 6.

\* The Subject of this Tragedy was the Strife between *Ajax* and *Ulysses* for the Arms of *Achilles*.



*Men' me servasse, ut essent qui me perderent ?*

Ah ! did I then preserve their Lives, that I  
Shou'd by their Malice thus unpity'd die !

And other Passages to the same Sense were taken from the † *Electra* of *Attilius*. Instead of a Funeral Panegyrick, *Anthony*, the Consul, caus'd to be publish'd by the Crier the Act of the Senate, by which they had decreed him all manner of Honours both Divine as well as Human ; and the Oath, by which they had all bound themselves to his Defence ; and after this he added a short Speech of his own. The Bier was taken up from before the *Rostra* and borne into the *Forum* by the Magistrates, and by others who had been formerly in Office. As some were for burning it in *Jupiter's* Temple in the Capitol, and others in the Court of *Pompey*, two Persons with Swords, and carrying a couple of Javelins in their Hands, went up suddenly and kindled it with flaming Torches, and in a trice all who stood by threw on Seer-Wood, the Tribunes Benches, and all the Offerings which lay near them. The Musicians, then, and the Players, || stripping themselves of the Habits which they had receiv'd at his Triumph, and had now put on for this Solemnity, rent them and threw them into the Fire ; and his Veteran Legions cast their rich Arms, in which they had clad themselves to celebrate the Funerals, into the Flames ; to which a great many Matrons added their Ornaments, and the \* *Bullæ* and Vests of their Children. And in the

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† The *Electra* was originally written by Sophocles in Greek, and was translated by *Attilius*.

|| To throw Garments, Jewels and Arms into the Funeral Flames was doing Honour, and express'd an Affection to the Dead.

\* Studs, which the Sons of Noble Romans wore upon their Garments in their younger Years.

Wildness of the Common Grief, a multitude of Strangers lamented round the Pyre, according to the Customs of their various Nations; particularly the *Jews*, who frequented it for several Nights together.

85. From the Burning the Commons ran directly with Fire-brands to the Houses of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and being beat off with Difficulty, they fell in with *Helvius Cinna*, and mistaking him by his Name for *Cornelius*, whom they were searching after, because he had exclaim'd furiously against *Cæsar* the Day before in an Oration, they dispatch'd him, and carry'd his Head before them upon a Spear. They afterwards erected a solid Pillar of *Numidian* Marble in the *Forum*, with an Inscription, *TO THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY*. At this they continu'd for a long time to sacrifice, to make Vows, and determine Controversies by swearing by *Cæsar's* Name.

86. His Behaviour made some of his Friends ready to imagine that he had no Desire to protract his Life; and was under no Concern to preserve it, because of the ill State of his Health; and that therefore he disregarded all Religious Omens, and the importunate Warnings and Advice which were given him. Others fancy he had such a Confidence in the last Decree of the Senate and the † Oath, which was taken in his Favour, that he dismiss'd his Guard of *Spaniards* who us'd to attend him arm'd. Others, on the contrary, make him to have own'd he had rather fall once into the Snares which he saw were laid for him on every side, than be always taking care to avoid them. 'Tis also reported, that he was wont to say, his Safety was not so much his Interest as the Interest of the Republick; that he had long since purchas'd Glory and Power enough; and if any Mischief befel him, the Common-Wealth wou'd enjoy no Repose, but be more perplex'd and plung'd into the Miseries of a new Civil War.

87. How-

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† See §. 85.

87. However, it is allow'd on all Hands, that his Death was almost such as he desir'd. For reading once in *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* in his last Sickness gave Directions concerning his Funerals, he express'd an Abhorrence of so \* lingring a Death, and wish'd his own might be speedy and sudden. And the Day before he was kill'd, in a Conversation which arose at *Lepidus's* Table concerning what kind of End was most desirable, he preferr'd that which was unexpected and immediate.

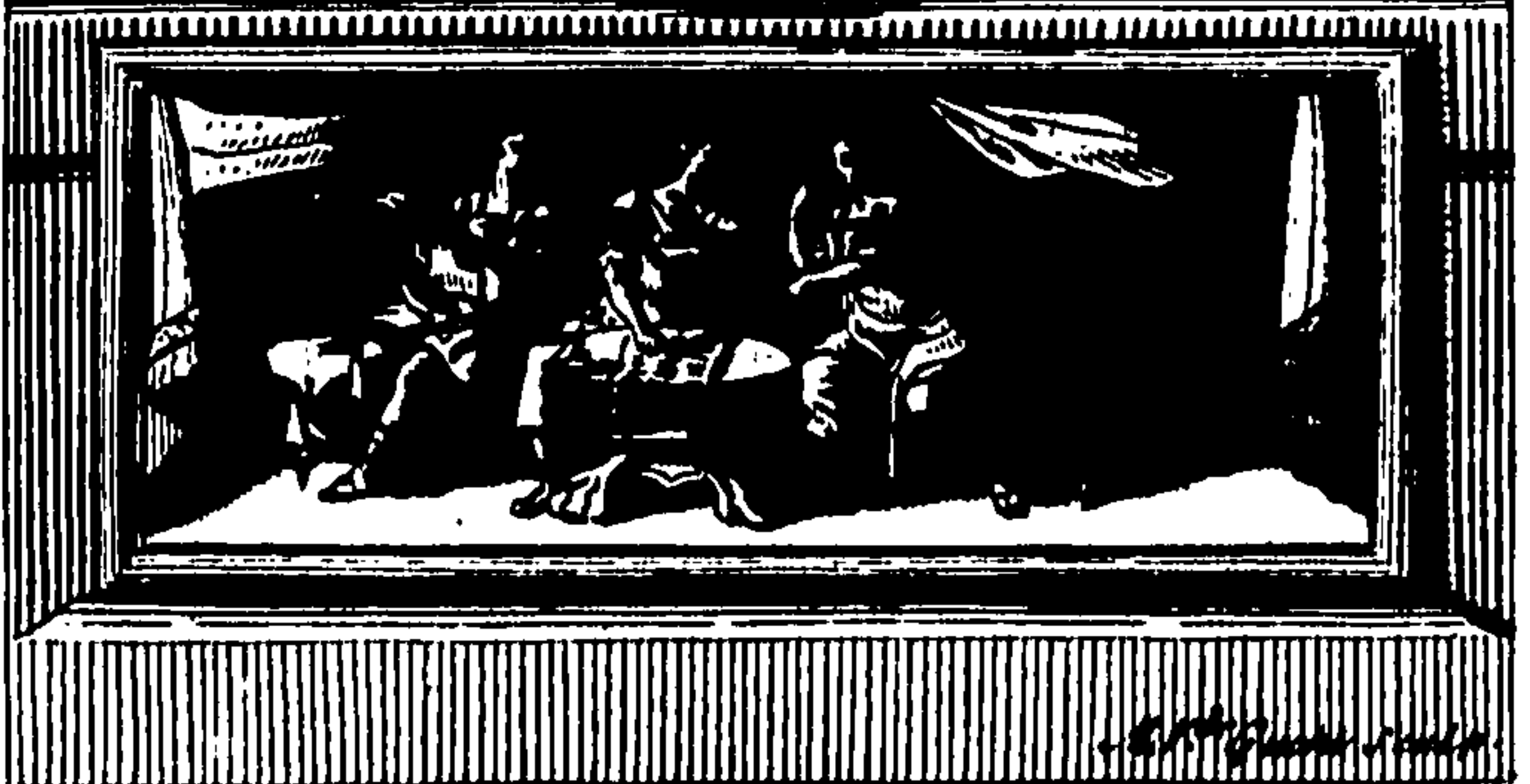
88. He expir'd in the Fifty sixth Year of his Age, and was both consecrated among the Gods by a Publick Decree, and really esteem'd such by the Vulgar. For at the first Celebration of the Games, which *Augustus*, his Heir, dedicated to his Memory, a Blazing Star appear'd at the † Eleventh Hour, and shone for seven Days together ; and this was believ'd to be *Cæsar's* Soul receiv'd up into Heaven, and for this Reason a Star is plac'd on the Crown of his Statues. It was ordain'd, that the Court where he was kill'd shou'd be shut up ; that the Ides of *March* shou'd be styl'd *the Ides of* \* *PARRICIDE*, and the Senate shou'd never assemble upon that Day. Scarcely any of the Assassines surviv'd him above three Years, or dy'd a Natural Death. They were all attainted by Law, and perish'd by several Accidents : Some by Shipwreck, others in Battel, and some slew themselves with the same Weapons with which they had stabb'd *Cæsar*.

\* i. e. *Cyrus* did not die at once, but lay ill long enough to settle the Solemnities of his Funerals.

† Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

\* Parricide with the Romans was either murdering a Father, or simply what our Law calls Murder. This may be translated therefore, The Mordrous Ides, or, The Ides of Murder. But I chuse to render it, The Ides of PARRICIDE, because *Cæsar* was formally styl'd PATER Patriæ, FATHER of his Country.

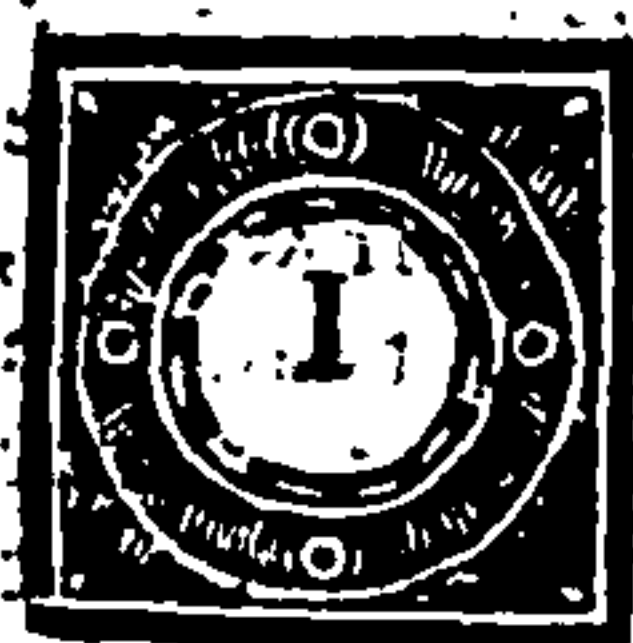






# THE L I F E O F

*Octavius Cæsar Augustus.*



**I**t appears by many things, that the *Octavii* were formerly a principal Family at \* *Velitrae*. For a Street in the chief Part of the Town was call'd by that Name; and there stood an Altar consecrated to *Octavius*, who was General in a War with some Neighbours; and receiving Advice as he was Sacrificing to *Mars*, that the Enemy had made a sudden Incursion, he hastily snatch'd out the Entrails of the Victim, and threw them half raw on the Altar, and advancing into the Battle, return'd with Victory. There was also a Decree which ordain'd, that the Entrails shou'd for the future be offer'd to *Mars* in the like Manner, and the Remainder of the Sacrifice be sent home to such of the *Octavii*, who happen'd not to be present at the Offering.

2. This Family was naturaliz'd at *Rome*, and brought into the Senate by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and was afterwards translated by *Servius Tullus* to the

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Patri-

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\* *A Town in Italy, which belong'd to the Volsci.*

Patricians, from whence in Length of Time it pass'd it self again to the Plebeians, and after a Space of Years *Julius Caesar* restor'd it to the Patrician Dignity. *C. Rufus* was the first of the Line who was chosen by the People into the Magistracy. He had been Questor, and from his two Sons, *Cneius* and *Caius* came Two Branches of the *Octavian* House, very different in their Fortune. For *Cneius* and all his Descendents enjoy'd the highest Honours in the Republick; but *Caius* and his Posterity, whether by accident or of choice, continu'd in the Equestrian Order without rising, even to *Augustus's* Father. The Great Grand-Father of *Augustus* serv'd a Military Tribune in the second *Punick* War in *Sicily*, of which *Æmilius Pappus* was General. And his Grand-Father, who had a noble Patrimony, affected no Offices above those of a private Citizen, and grew old in a desirable Tranquility. But these Things are mention'd by other Authors. *Augustus* himself writes, that his Family was of a Rank no higher than the Equestrian, and of which his Father was the first Senator. *M. Anthony* upbraids him that his Great Grand-Father was a Freed-man of the \* *Thurine* Canton, and sold Ropes, and that his Father was an Exchanger of Money. And these are all the Particulars which have come to my Knowledge concerning the Paternal Ancestors of *Augustus*.

3. His Father *C. Octavius* was from the first very Rich, and of great Reputation; wherefore I am surpriz'd some shou'd represent him also as a Money-Changer, and even one of the Creatures who are employ'd in the *Campus Martius* to distribute Money among the People, and to wait upon the Candidates at an Election, since the flourishing Estate to which he was born easily advanc'd him to the most honourable Stations, and he acquitted himself in them with Applause.

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\* *Thurix* was a Town in Italy, lying between the Rivers *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, and gave Name to a certain Division of the circumjacent Country.



Applause: *Macedonia* being allotted him for his Province at the End of his Pretorship, in his Passage thither, having receiv'd an extraordinary Commission to this Purpose from the Senate, he engag'd and defeated the \* Fugitives, who were some remaining Forces of *Spartacus* and *Catiline*, and had now possess'd themselves of the Country round the City *Thuriæ*. In his Government he shew'd no less Justice than Fortitude: For having vanquish'd the *Bessi* and the *Thracians* in a considerable Battle, he treated the Allies in so generous and engaging a manner, that *Cicero*, in some Epistles of his which are extant, advises his Brother *Quintius*, and presses him, who was then Proconsul of *Asia*, and behav'd himself very dishonourably, to imitate the worthy Example of his † neighbouring Fellow-Ruler *Octavius*, in obliging his Allies.

4. He departed from *Macedonia* \*\* before he cou'd declare his Intention to stand for the Consulate, and was taken off by a sudden Death, leaving behind him several Children; *Octavia* the Elder, whom he had by *Ancharia*, and *Octavia* the younger, and *Augustus*, who were by *Atia*, the Daughter of *M. Atius Balbus* and *Julia*, the Sister of *Julius Cæsar*. *Balbus* was by his Father's Side an \* *Aricinian*, and had in his Family the † Images of several of his Ancestors, who

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\* A Company of Gladiators call'd so, because at the Instigation of *Spartacus*, one of their Number, they broke loose, and running away from their Masters, took Arms for *Catiline*.

† *Macedonia*, which was *Octavius*'s Province, was not far from *Asia*, of which *Quintius* was Proconsul.

\*\* They were oblig'd to publish this some Days before the Time of the Election, or else they cou'd not be admitted to stand.

\* Of *Aricia*, a City near *Alba*,

† The Romans extremely affected to keep the Images of their Ancestors in their Houses, both in Respect to their Memory, and as Marks of Family-Honour. See *Juvenal*, Sat. 8.

who had been Senators; and by his Mother he was very nearly related to *Pompey*. After having pass'd thro' the Honour of the Pretorship, he was appointed One of the Twenty who executed the *Julian Law*, for dividing the *Campanian Lands* among the common People. But *M. Anthony* vilifying his Descent by his Mother's Line, reproaches him that his Great Grand-Father was an \* *African*, and sometimes kept a Perfumer's and sometimes a Baker's Shop in *Aricia*. And *Cassius Parmensis* exposes *Augustus* in one of his Epistles, not only as the Grandson of a Baker, but of a common Money-Teller also. *Thou art sprung*, says he, *from thy Mother's Meal-Tub, and a Banker of Nerulum taking the Flour out of a Bake-house at Aricia, with his Hands all sully'd with telling Money, work'd up and fashion'd the Paste.*

5. *Augustus* was born in the Consulship of *M. Tullius Cicero* and *Anthony*, upon the †† Ninth of the Kalends of October, a little before Sun-Rising, in the Quarter of the City call'd *Palatium*, and at a Place nam'd *Ox's Heads*, where there is now a small Temple, which was erected shortly after his Death. For, as it is recorded in the Acts of the Senate, *C. Lectorius*, a young Man of a Patrician Family, importunately entreating he might not suffer the severest \*\* Punishment of Adultery, and pleading to the Senators, beside his Age and his honourable Descent, that he was the Possessor, and in a manner Keeper of that Spot of Ground, which *Augustus* first \* touch'd at his Birth, and therefore he pray'd they wou'd grant his

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\* The Africans were a wild and barbarian People, and the Meaning of this Reflection is, that *Augustus* was meanly descended from a Foreign Family, and not from a Roman.

†† September 23.

\*\* Transportation.

\* It was a Superstitious Ceremony with the Ancients to set the Child down naked upon the Ground, as soon as it was born, and make it touch the Earth.

his Petition, as it were to him who was his † peculiar and Patron God ; it was decreed, That that Part of the House shou'd be consecrated.

6. In the old Suburbs near *Velitræ* is shewn the Apartment which was his Nursery. It is a little Room, and just like a Pantry ; and there is a Notion among the Neighbourhood that he was also born there. To enter it, unless upon a necessary Occasion, and with Reverence, is unlawful : And an ancient Opinion has obtain'd, that a certain Consternation and Horror invades all who venture into it rashly : Which Tradition was afterwards thus confirm'd. A new Owner of the Place, either by Chance or to make the Experiment, taking up his Lodging there one Night, it happen'd that in a few Hours, he was thrown out by a sudden and invisible Force, and was found almost half dead before the Door, with his Bed lying by him.

7. The Surname of *Thurinus* was given him in his Infancy, either in Commemoration of his Ancestors Original, or because, shortly after he was born, his Father, *Octavius*, put the Fugitives to flight in the Canton of *Thura*. I am able to report this to have been his Appellation with Certainty, having had in my Possession a small Image of him in Brass, taken when he was a Boy, on which this Name was engraven, tho' the Letters are now canker'd and almost worn out. I presented this to the \* Emperor ; who preserves it among the Statues in his Bed-Chamber. *Mark Anthony* indeed calls him *Thurinus* in his Letters, by way of Infamy, to which *Augustus* makes no other Reply, than that he wonder'd his primitive Name shou'd be objected to him as a Reproach. He afterwards assum'd the Style of CÆSAR, and

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† i. e. to Augustus, to whom *Lectorius* reckon'd himself a sort of Priest, by having that remarkable Spot of Ground in his Possession : Accordingly he styles himself *Æditum Soli*, which properly signifies a Keeper of Temples and consecrated Places.

\* *Adrian*.



and then of *AUGUSTUS*, receiving the first by the Testament of his † Great Uncle, and taking the other at the Instance of *Munacius Plancius*. For several being of Opinion that he ought to be nam'd *Romulus*, as if he were also the ✕ Founder of the City, *Munacius* obtain'd that he shou'd rather be term'd *Augustus*, as being not only a new, but even a more magnificent Title: For all religious Places, where Consecrations are made by Auguries, are call'd *august*, either from the Word || *Auctus*, Increase, or *ab Avium Gestu Gusturæ*, from the Flights and Feeding of Birds, as we may learn by this of *Ennius*,

*Augusto Augurio postquam inclyta condita Roma est.*

Then, by auspicious Auguries, on high  
The Walls of *Rome* are rais'd in Majesty:

8. When he was four Years old he lost his Father, and in his twelfth Year he made a Funeral Oration upon his Grand-Mother *Julia*, and four Years after, he put on the ‡ Habit of Manhood, and receiv'd the †† Military Presents at *Cæsar's African* Triumph, tho', by reason of his early Age, he was incapable of acting in Arms. When his Uncle went into *Spain* against *Pompey's* Sons, he was scarcely recover'd from a severe Sickneſs, yet he follow'd him with a slender

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† *Julius Cæsar*; for *Augustus's* Mother *Atia*, was the Daughter of *Julius Cæsar's* Sister. See § 4.

✕ Because he beautify'd the City wonderfully, and increas'd it. See § 28.

|| *Auctus* is a Sacrificial Word. For if the Beast th y flew in Sacrifice prov'd defective, they kill'd another, and another, till they found one which was perfect; and this was term'd *augere Hostias*, To increaſe the Victims.

‡ A Year before the usual Time.

†† These were of several Kinds, and were bestow'd on the Soldiers by the General, as Rewards of their Valour and good Service.

der Attendance, notwithstanding the Ways were closely beset by the Enemy, and he was also Shipwreck'd in his Passage. By this he merited highly with *Cæsar*, who, beside the Dispatch shewn in performing the Journey, was wonderfully pleas'd with such a Specimen of his Genius and Conduct. After the Reduction of *Spain*, *Cæsar* designing to undertake an Expedition against the *Daci*, and then against the *Parthians*, he was sent before to *Apollonia*, where he prosecuted his Studies. As soon as he \* understood that *Cæsar* was kill'd, and himself appointed his Heir, he was for a long time in Suspence, whether he shou'd not implore the Assistance of the Legions which were next at hand ; and at length laid aside such a Thought as dangerous and rash ; and going to *Rome*, claim'd his Inheritance in Form of Law, tho' his Mother was full of † Fears about it, and his Father-in-law *Marcus Philippus*, a Consular Man, earnestly dissuaded him from it. And from this Time, having drawn his Troops together, he rul'd the Republick, at first in Conjunction with *M. Anthony* and *Marcus Lepidus*, and then with *Anthony* alone for almost Fourteen Years, and at last singly in his own Person for Forty four.

9. Having thus given as it were a Summary of his Life, I shall proceed to describe the several Parts of it separately, not according to the order of Time, but according to the Nature of his Actions, and their mutual Dependence on each other, that so they may appear the more distinctly, and be the better understood. He was engag'd in five Civil Wars, in that of *Mutina*, of *Philippæ*, of *Perusia*, *Sicily* and *Actium*.  
The

\* *The News came to him in the Evening, when he had been Six Months at Apollonia.*

† *His Mother and his Father-in-Law were afraid he wou'd either commit some rash ill-advis'd Action, or be deluded by the fair Promises of his Enemies, till they had got him into their Power.*

The first and last of which he wag'd against *M. Anthony*, the second against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, the third against *Lucius Anthony*, the Brother of the *Triumvir*, and the fourth against *Sextus Pompey*, the Son of *Cneius*.

10. The Original and Cause of all his Wars, was his looking on himself as oblig'd in Point of Interest to revenge his Uncle's Death, and to confirm his Acts. As soon as he came from *Apollonia*, he design'd to have attack'd *Brutus* and *Cassius* by Force before they were aware; but when they foresaw the Danger, and avoided it, he resolv'd to fall upon them by the Laws, and to accuse them in their Absence, as guilty of Murder. And the proper Officers not daring to present the Games instituted in Honour of *Cæsar's* \* Victory, he celebrated them himself. And that he might be able to execute his Designs with the greater Vigour, upon the Death of one of the Tribunes, he stood Candidate for the Office, tho' he was of the † Patrician Order, and had not yet been a Senator. But *M. Anthony* the Consul, upon whose Assistance he principally depended, thwarting his Measures, and refusing to do him common Justice in any Instance, without having first exacted a Promise of an extravagant Premium, he address'd himself to the Nobles, to whom *Anthony* he knew was extreamly odious, especially for his attempting to dispossess, by Force of Arms, *D. Brutus*, when he was besieged at *Mutina*, of a Province which was given him by *Cæsar*, and confirm'd by the Senate. Several therefore prompting him to it, he hir'd Russians to assassinate the Consul; and fearing, when the Treachery was discover'd, it might be return'd upon him in kind, he hir'd the Veterane Troops by prodigious largesses to protect him, and to secure the Common Wealth.

Receiving

\* *The Pharsalian.*

† To qualify a Man for the *Tribun Ship*, it was necessary that he shou'd be a *Commoner* and a *Senator*.



Receiving Orders to command, in the Pretor's room, the Army which was now rais'd, and with *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were enter'd on the Consulship, to relieve *D. Brutus*, he finish'd that War at two Battles in the compass of three Months. In the first Engagement *Anthony* writes that he fled, and was seen two Days after without his General's Robe and his Horse; in the second, 'tis certain he perform'd the Part not only of a Leader, but of a Common Soldier also; and in the midst of the Fight, the Ensign of his Legion being sorely wounded, he took the Standard upon his own Shoulders, and bore it a considerable Time.

11. *Hirtius* and *Pansa* both perishing in this Expedition, *Hirtius* in the Battle, and *Pansa* shortly after of a Wound, a Rumour flew about that they were slain by his means; that so *Anthony* being defeated, and the Republick depriv'd of the Consuls, the conquering Army might be solely under his Command. The Death of *Pansa* was so strongly suspected, that *Glyco*, his Surgeon, was taken into Custody upon a Presumption of having poison'd the Wound. *Aquilius Niger* adds, that *Hirtius*, the other Consul, was slain by *Octavius's* own Hands in the Confusion of the Action.

12 As soon as he understood that *Anthony* after his Flight was well receiv'd by *Lepidus*, and that the other Generals and their Troops had declar'd for the \* Senate, he immediately chang'd Hands again, and abandon'd the Cause of the Nobility; and to justify the Turn, he interpreted in a malignant Sense the Sayings and Behaviour of several of them; as that some had said scornfully, *He was a Boy*, and others,

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\* i. e. for *Pompey's Party*, by which they were now become *Augustus's Enemies*. To support himself therefore, he made up his Quarrel with *Anthony*, and prevail'd with him and *Lepidus* to unite their Forces on his Side against the Senate.

thers, that He ought to be \* dress'd up, and then knock'd on the Head, in order to defraud him and the brave Veteranes of the just Reward of their Service. And the more heartily to exprefs his Sorrow for having ever given into the other Faction, he banish'd the *Nursini*, whom he had put under a severe Fine, which they were unable to pay, because on the Tombs of the Citizens who were kill'd at *Mutina*, they had made a publick Infcription, *These fell in the Cause of Liberty.*

13. Striking up a Confederacy with *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, he brought the War of *Philippæ* to an End in Two Battles, tho' he labour'd under a very ill State of Health. In the first he was driven from his Camp, and had much ado to escape to the Wing where *Anthony* commanded. After the Victory he observ'd no Moderation, but sent the Head of *Brutus* to *Rome*, to be laid at the Foot of *Cæsar's* Statue; and treated every illustrious Prisoner with Taunt and Passion: Insomuch that he is said to have answer'd one who humbly sued for the Favour of Burial, *That must be as the Birds and he cou'd agree it.* And when a Father and Son begg'd for their Lives, he commanded them either to draw Lots, or to take their Chance at the Sword, to determine which of them shou'd be sav'd, and look'd on and saw them both expire. For the Father, who gave himself up to the Stroke, being kill'd, the Son dispatch'd himself with his own Hands. Wherefore when the rest, among whom was *M. Favonius*, who had affect-ed to imitate *Cato*, were led to Execution in Chains, they paid an honourable Salute to *Anthony* their General, but pour'd out the blackest Reproaches upon

*Octavius*

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\* *The Latin is capable of a double Sense, either that he shou'd be honour'd and promoted, or that he shou'd be dress'd up and slain; alluding to the Custom of decking the Beasts, which were to be sacrific'd, with Ribbons and other Ornaments.*

*Octavius* to his Face. All Offices and Powers being shar'd between them after the Victory, the Command of the East fell to *Anthony*, while *Octavius* undertook to march back the Veteranes into *Italy*, and divide to them the \* Municipal Lands; by which he at once disoblig'd both the Soldiers and the Proprietors, these complaining they were driven out of their Possessions, and the others that † their Merits were not rewarded as they expected.

14. At this Time *Lucius Anthony*, who presum'd on his own Consulship and on his Brother's Power, starting new Commotions, he forc'd him to fly to *Perusia*, and compell'd him to surrender by Famine; tho' not without having been himself in very great Danger, both in the War and before it. For one of the baser Soldiers happening to place himself, at the Publick Shews, in the Gallery belonging to the Knights, he sent an Officer to bid him withdraw; upon which his Enemies giving out that the poor Fellow was afterwards put to death by Torture, he narrowly escap'd being destroy'd by the Rage of the Soldiers who began to gather about him: That which sav'd him was, the Man's shewing himself suddenly in Safety, and without any Marks of Injury upon him. And as he was sacrificing before the Walls of *Perusia*, he was very near being intercepted by a Band of Gladiators who sally'd out of the Town.

15. The City being taken, he pursu'd his Revenge on a great Number, and when they endeavour'd to ask Pardon, or to excuse themselves, he cut them short with this single Sentence, *You must die*. Some write, that of those who had surrender'd themselves, he chose out Three hundred of either Order, and in the

\* Lands belonging to the enfranchis'd Towns in Italy.

† Appian says, the Soldiers insisted to have the principal Cities bestow'd upon them, according to an Allotment made before the War began.



the \* Ides of *March* had them slaughter'd like Victims upon an Altar erected to *Julius Cæsar*. Others have also affirm'd this War to be merely an Invention of his own, that his secret Enemies, who were restrain'd more by Fear than Affection, being flesh'd by *Lucius Anthony's* undertaking to head them, might bolt out and shew themselves, and that being overcome, and their Estates confiscated, he might be able to give his Veterane Troops the Rewards he had promis'd them.

16. His first War was the *Sicilian*, which was drawn into Length by frequent Intermissions. For sometimes he was oblig'd to lie by for the Repairing of his Fleet, which had been twice destroy'd by Wrecks and Storms, even in the Summer Season, and at other times he was forc'd to clap up a Peace to satisfy the Importunities of the People, who began to clamour, because all Communications were intercepted, and the Famine increas'd daily among them. At last, new Ships being built, and Twenty thousand Slaves made free, and put to the Oar, he form'd the *Julian Harbour* at *Baiæ*, by letting the Sea into the *Lucrine* and *Avernian Lake*; and having exercis'd his Forces here all the Winter, he defeated *Pompey* between † *Mylæ* and † *Naulochum*. At the Hour when the Fight was to begin, he was suddenly seiz'd with so profound a Sleep, that his Friends were forc'd to wake him to give the Signal to engage. And this, I believe, furnish'd *Anthony* with a Handle for reproaching him, *That he was not able to turn his Eyes directly upon the Line of Battle, but lay along stupidly gazing on the Skies, and wou'd not get up and shew himself to his Men, before Marcus Agrippa had put the Enemies Ships to Flight.* Others reproach him, as well for some of his Expressions, as for his Conduct, as if he had said when his Navy was ruin'd by a Storm, *That he wou'd win the Victory, even in despite*

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\* The Time when *Julius Cæsar* was kill'd.

† Two Towns on the North-East Coast of *Sicily*.

despite of Neptune. And accordingly, when the *Circensian Games* were next perform'd, he excluded *Neptune's Image* from the Solemnity. In no other of his Wars was he in more or greater Dangers than in this. For having transported Part of his Army into *Sicily*, and returning to bring over the Remainder, he was unexpectedly attack'd by *Demochares* and *Apollophanes*, Two of *Pompey's* Captains, and very narrowly escap'd with a single Vessel. Another time as he was going on Foot from \* *Locri* to \* *Rhegium*, he saw Two of *Pompey's* Gallies coasting the Shoar, and taking them for his own, went down to the Strand, and had like to have been made Prisoner; and even as he was seeking to save himself thro' secret Paths, a Slave of his intimate Companion *Æmilius Paulus*, provok'd at *Augustus's* having formerly proscrib'd his Master's Father, and seeing so fair an Opportunity offer'd for revenging it, endeavour'd to kill him. After *Pompey's* Defeat, *Marcus Lepidus*, one of his Collegues whom he had invited to his Assistance out of *Africk*, haughtily presuming on the Force of his having Twenty Legions under his Command, claim'd, in a menacing Manner, the Superiour Power, and imagin'd he shou'd terrifie him into a Compliance: But he threw him out of all, and depriv'd him of his Army, and granting him his Life at his humble Supplication, banish'd him to † *Circei* for ever.

17. His Correspondence with *Mark Anthony*, which had been always wavering and precarious, and was languidly preserv'd by several Reconciliations, he at length broke off entirely. And the more plainly to shew how *Anthony* had degenerated from the Part  
of

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\* Two Towns in Italy.

† A Town of Latium.

of a good Citizen of Rome, he caus'd the † Will he had left behind him to be open'd and read in publick, in which the Children of Cleopatra were nam'd among his Heirs. Yet, when Anthony had declar'd himself his Enemy, he honourably permitted his Dependents and Friends, and among them C. Sosius and T. Domitius, who were then Consuls, to go over to him; and because the Inhabitants of \* Bononia were antiently under the Patronage of Anthony's Family, he forgave them their uniting with all Italy on his side. Not long after this he conquer'd Anthony in a Sea-Fight at Actium, continuing the Battle till it was very late; that he might at last have the Satisfaction of sleeping Victor that Night on board. Having sail'd from Actium, and put himself into Winter Quarters at the Island Samos, he was allarm'd with Advices, that the Soldiers whom he had drawn out of every Company and sent before to Brundisium, were in a Mutiny for their Rewards and their Discharge; upon which he return'd to Italy, and was twice overtaken with a Storm in his Passage; first between the Promontories of Peloponesus and Æolia, and then near the † Ceraunian Mountains; in both Tempests part of his † Liburnian Gallies were sunk, and the Ship in which he was, lost her Tackle, and had

† Plutarch says, Anthony had left the Will in the Hands of the Vestal Virgins, who refus'd to deliver it when Augustus sent to demand it, and answer'd, he shou'd come in Person and fetch it, if he wou'd have it, which he did. This violent Act of Augustus to break open and publish a Will while the Testator was living, gave great Offence, and was generally resented.

\* A Town of Acarnania in Greece.

‡ Very high Mountains of Epirus, towards the Ionian Sea.

† A light swift sort of Vessels, carrying two Oars. The Romans learn'd the Use of them from the People of Liburnia, and from thence they had the Name.



had her Rudder torne off. He stay'd but Seven and twenty Days, till he had satisfy'd the Soldiers Demands ; and then taking a Courſe thro' *Aſia* and *Syria* he went to *Egypt*, and beſieging *Alexandria*, whither *Anthony* was fled with *Cleopatra* ; he carry'd it in a ſhort time. And *Anthony* endeavouring to procure Conditions of Peace too late, he forc'd him to ſtab himſelf in Deſpair, and || inhumanly view'd him when he was Dead. Having a wonderful Deſire to reſerve *Cleopatra* for his Triumph, he ſent ſome of the \* *Psylli* to ſuck the Venom out of her Wounds, becauſe ſhe was thought to have deſtroy'd herſelf by *Aſpicks*. He allow'd the unhappy Couple the Honour of one common Tomb, and order'd the Monument, which themſelves had began, to be finiſh'd. Young *Anthony*, the eldeſt of his Father's two Sons, by *Fulvia*, fled to an Image of *Julius Cæſar*, where after he had pour'd out many fruitleſs Prayers for his Life, he commanded him to be hal'd away and ſlain ; and catching † *Cæſario* as he fled, whom *Cleopatra* declar'd ſhe had by *Cæſar*, he put him to Death alſo. The reſt of hers and *Anthony*'s Children he treated as if they had been his own Relations and Friends, and cheriſh'd and promoted them according to their Capacities.

18. The Corps of *Alexander* the Great, with the Coffin, being at the ſame time taken out of the Vault where

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|| This Circumſtance of Inhumanity is mention'd by no other Writer : And *Plutarch* ſays, *Augustus* retir'd into his Tent, and burſt into Tears for the Loſs of his old Companion and Friend.

\* A People of *Libya*, whoſe Saliva, as *Pliny* relates, Lib. 7. was fatal to Serpents ; They were able to draw the Poyſon out of a Wound with their Mouths.

† As *Augustus* was conſidering, whether he ſhou'd execute or ſpare him, *Arius* the Philoſopher told him, it was dangerous to have ſeveral Cæſars.

where it was deposited, he plac'd it before him, and pay'd Honours to it, putting a Crown of Gold upon it, and strewing it with Flowers; and being ask'd whether he wou'd not also view the *Ptolemies*, he answer'd, \* *He desir'd to see a King, and not dead Men.* He reduc'd *Ægypt* into a † Province; and to make it the more fruitful and able to furnish *Rome* with Corn, he employ'd his Soldiers to cleanse the Channels, into which the *Nile* overflows, which had been long choak'd up with Mud. And to deliver the Remembrance of his *Actian* Victory to Posterity with the greater Renown, he founded the City \* *Nicopolis* at *Actium*, and appointed Games to be perform'd every five Years; enlarg'd the ancient † Temple of *Apollo*, and adorning the Ground, on which he had encamp'd, with the Naval Spoils, consecrated it to *Neptune* and *Mars*.

19. He successively detected several Insurrections and Conspiracies, and suppress'd them before they came to any Maturity. The first who plotted against him was young *Lepidus*; the next was *Varro* at *Murena*, and *Fannius Cæpio*: After whom was *M. Egnatius*, and then *Plautius Rufus*, and *Lucius Paulus*, his Son-in-law's Father; and beside these, *L. Audasius*, an old decrepit Forger of Deeds, and *Asinius Epicadus*, one of a base Mungril Strain, a *Parthynian* by Nation;

\* Alluding to the Glory of Alexander's Actions, and the Effeminacy and Luxury of the *Ptolemies*, who had done nothing to preserve their Names from perishing in Oblivion.

† Contrary to the Judgment of Julius Cæsar, mention'd Page 21.

\* i. e. The City of Victory.

† *Apollo's* Temple was at the Mouth of the *Ambracian Gulf* in *Epirus*. The City *Nicopolis*, according to *Dio*, was built on the Ground where *Augustus* had pitch'd his Camp, and the Temple on that particular Spot which had been cover'd by his Pavilion.

tion; and lastly, *Telephus*, a Slave, who was † Nomenclator to a certain Woman: For he was in Danger from the Designs even of Persons of the meanest Condition. *Audasius* had projected to take his Daughter *Julia*, and *Agrippa* his Grandson, from the Islands where they were \* confin'd, and carry them off to the Army; and *Telephus*, as if the Fates had ow'd him the Empire, intended to attack both *Augustus* and the Senate together. Also one Night, a Scullion belonging to the *Illyrian* Troops, having deceiv'd the Warders, was seiz'd near his Bed-Chamber arm'd with a Huntsman's Dagger; but whether he was really distracted, or only dissembled Madness, is uncertain: For nothing could be drawn out of him by Torture.

20. He manag'd but two Foreign Wars in Person; namely, the \*\* *Dalmatian*, when he was very † young, and the †† *Cantabrian*, after *Anthony's* Defeat. He receiv'd several Wounds in the *Dalmatian*; for in one Battel he had a Blow on the right Knee with a Stone, and in another he was hurt in his Thigh and both his Arms by the Fall of a Bridge. The rest of his Wars he wag'd by Lieutenants. However, that he might either be on the Spot, or at a very short Distance in some of them, as the *Pannonian* and *German*, he advanc'd from Rome as far as *Ravenna*, *Milan* or *Aquilcia*.

21. And partly in Person, and partly by his Commanders, he subdu'd *Cantabria*, *Aquitania*, *Pannonia*  
E
and

† A Nomenclator was a Slave who attended his Master or Mistress to tell them the Names of the Persons they met, that they might be able to pay every one the Respect of saluting him by his Name.

\* See §. 65.

\*\* Dalmatia was Part of Illyricum, which was situated by the Adriatick Sea, now the Gulf of Venice.

† Thirty Years old.

†† The Cantabri were Inhabitants of that Part of Spain which is now call'd Biscay.



and *Dalmatia*, with all *Illyricum*; and conquer'd *Rhaetia*, and the *Vindelici* and *Salassi*, Nations living within the *Alps*. He repress'd the Incursions of the *Daci*, killing Three of their Generals, with a great Body of Men, and drove the *Germans* beyond the *Elbe*. And the *Ubii* and *Sicambri* surrendring themselves, he transplanted them into *Gaul*, and plac'd them in the Fields next the *Rhine*. Other Nations which were Malecontent, and ready to break into a Flame, he quieted and held in Obedience; and never began a War with any, but upon just and necessary Occasions. And so far was he from an Ambition of augmenting Empire or Military Glory, that he oblig'd several Barbarian Princes to swear in the Temple of *Mars the Avenger*, faithfully to maintain the Peace they had fought. He endeavour'd to procure from some a new sort of Hostages, Women, because he saw the Male Pledges were generally neglected; yet he always allow'd any Nation to recall their Hostages at pleasure. Even those who rebell'd frequently and in a very perfidious Manner, he punish'd with no other Severity, than to sell their Captives with this Condition, that they shou'd not serve in the neighbouring Country, nor be set at Liberty within Thirty Years. The Fame of which Clemency and Moderation provok'd even the *Indians* and *Scythians*, who were known only by Report, to desire by their Ambassadors his Friendship and the Alliance of the *Roman People*. The *Parthians* also readily gave up \* *Armenia* to him when he claim'd it, and sent him back at his Demand, the Ensigns they had taken from *Crassus* and *Mark Anthony*, and offer'd Hostages; and when several contended for the Kingdom, they were determin'd by him, and approv'd the Person whom he prefer'd.

22. The

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\* The Parthians resign'd Armenia above Twelve Years after they had restor'd the Ensigns, tho' Suetonius mentions it first.

22. The Temple of *Janus Quirinus*, which had been twice shut before his Age since the Building of the City, he shut up thrice in a much shorter Space of Time, having obtain'd Peace by Sea and Land. He enter'd the City twice in an \* Ovation, after the War of *Philippi* and of *Sicily*; and made Three Triumphs, for the *Dalmatian*, *Actian* and *Alexandrine* Victories, which all lasted Three Days.

23. He suffer'd but Two considerable Defeats, and those only in *Germany*, in the Persons of *Lollius* and *Varus*. That of *Lollius* was more infamous than prejudicial; but *Varus's* was almost fatal; Three Legions being cut to Pieces, with the General, the Lieutenants, and all the Auxiliaries. When the News arriv'd, he plac'd a Watch thro' the City to prevent a Tumult, and prolong'd the Commissions of the Governors of the Provinces, that the Allies might be the better preserv'd in their Fidelity, by Men who were well acquainted with them, and accusom'd to the Place. He vow'd also to perform the *Circensian* Games in Honour of *Jupiter Supream*, *If he wou'd recover the Common-Wealth into a better Condition*: Which Vow had been likewise made in the *Cimbrian* and *Marrian* War. 'Tis said this Misfortune threw him into such a Consternation, that he let his Hair and Beard grow wild several Months, and sometimes dash'd his Head against the Walls, crying out, *Quintilius Varus, give me back my Legions*, and observ'd the Day of this Overthrow every Year with Mourning.

24. In the Art of War he chang'd and invented several Things, and reduc'd some Parts of it to the antient Practice. He was very severe in his Discipline, and never allow'd even the principal Officers to visit their Wives, but with great Reluctance, and

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only

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\* An Ovation was an inferior sort of Triumph, in which the General enter'd the City on Foot, whereas in the Triumph he rode in a Chariot.

only in the Winter Months. A *Roman* Knight having cut off the Thumbs of his Two Sons to prevent their being lifted, he expos'd him and his Goods to Sale, and perceiving the \* Publicans ready to make the Purchase, he gave him to his Freedman, to be sent down into the || Country to live at large. The Tenth Legion growing mutinous he broke them with Disgrace, and disbanded others, who insisted on their Discharge in an insolent Manner, without granting them the Donatives belonging to such as were arriv'd at the Age which by Law exempted them from Service. If any Companies had given ground, he decimated them and fed them with Barley ; and the Centurions and Ensigns, who had deserted their Posts, he punish'd with Death. For other Faults he inflicted various Kinds of Disgrace ; as to stand a whole Day before the † General's Tent, sometimes in their Waste-Coat ungirt, and sometimes holding a Pole of Ten Foot, or Sods of Earth in their Hands.

25. After the Civil Wars he never styl'd them, either in his Harangues or Edicts, *Fellow-Soldiers*, but simply *Soldiers* ; nor suffer'd his Sons or Sons-in-law, when they commanded, to call them by any other Appellation ; esteeming it a piece of Flattery which neither comported with the Nature of Martial Discipline, the peaceable Circumstances of the Times, nor with his own Dignity, nor the Majesty of his Family. Unless in the Case of sudden Fires, or when a  
Tumult

\* The Publicans being of the same Order, intended to have bought him, in order to set him at Liberty.

|| This was a sort of Banishment ; for he was oblig'd to live there, without returning to Rome, tho' he had his Freedom allow'd him in the Country and was not treated as a Slave.

† By this they were at once expos'd to the Eyes of all the principal Officers, who frequented the General's Tent for Orders, and to the View of the whole Camp.



Tumult was apprehended on Account of a Scarcity of Provisions, he never made use of the baser Soldiery which consisted of manumitted Slaves, excepting twice; namely, for covering the Colonies on the Borders of *Illyricum*, and to defend the Banks of the *Rhine*. On those Occasions he order'd all Persons, both Men and Women who were very rich, to send in so many of their Slaves, whom after some time he made free, but still kept them in the Company in which they were first enter'd, and did not mingle them with the Free-born Troops, nor arm them after the same manner. He was for presenting his Soldiers rather with Housings, Chains, or any Ornaments of Gold and Silver, than with the several Military Crowns, which were the more honourable Rewards. These he bestow'd very sparingly, and without Ostentation or Preference, allotting them even to the Soldiers of the meanest sort. And after the Naval Victory he gave to *M. Agrippa* a Standard of a Sea-green Colour; and only thought it improper to dispense such Gifts to any who had triumph'd, tho' they had accompany'd him in his Expeditions, and borne a great Share in his Conquests; because, by their Quality they had the Power of conferring the same upon others. Nothing in his Judgment less became a compleat General than Hastiness and Temerity; and therefore he wou'd often repeat these Lines;

Σπεῦδε βροδῆως, &c.

Ἀσφαλὴς γ' ἐς ἀμείνων, ἢ δεῦρος σερπηλᾶτης.

Slow be thy Haste, and wary Councils hold;  
The cautious Leader far excels the bold.

And, *Every Thing is done soon enough which is done well enough.* And he was absolutely of Opinion, that no War or Battel shou'd ever be undertaken unless when the Prospect of Success was more than the Fear of Losing. For *they who pursue an inconsiderable Advantage at no inconsiderable Hazard, he said, are like*

*Persons who fish with a Golden Hook, the Loss of which by the breaking of the Line can never be made up by all the Fish they can take.*

26. He receiv'd Magistracies and Honours before the legal Age, and some which were perpetual and of a new Kind. He invaded the Consulship when he was but Twenty Years old, marching his Troops in a hostile manner to the City, and sending some to demand it for him in the Name of the Army. The Senate demurring on the Point, *Cornelius Centurio*, the Principal of the Detachment, threw back his Robe, and shewing the Hilt of his Sword, had the Face to declare in open Court, *This shall give it him if you refuse it.* He held a second Consulate Nine Years after ; and with the Interval of one Year, a third ; from whence he accepted it successively to the eleventh, and then refus'd it several times when it was offer'd him ; but he stood voluntarily for the twelfth, after a long distance of Seventeen Years ; and Two Years after this for the thirteenth, that being possess'd of the highest Station, he might with more Advantage introduce his Sons *Gaius* and *Lucius*, after they had perform'd the previous Exercises, to Pleading in Publick. He continu'd in the five intermediate Consulships, from the sixth to the eleventh, the whole Year ; but the six others he bore either nine, six, four or three Months, and the second but a few Hours. For upon the \* Kalends of *January*, having sat a little while in the Morning before the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in the Curule Chair, he laid down his Office, and substituted one to take it in his stead. He did not enter upon his Consulate always in the † City, but was invested with the

Fourth

\* Upon that Day the new Consuls always began their Office, and us'd to place themselves, according to Form, in the Curule Chair, which was made of Ivory.

† The new Consuls were oblig'd to begin their Magistracy in Rome, and cou'd not enter upon it in any other Place.

Fourth in *Asia*, with the Fifth in the Island *Samos*, and with the Eighth and Ninth in *Tarraco*.

27. He sustain'd the Triumvirate for regulating the Commonwealth, Ten Years ; in which he disputed it with his Associates for some time, that there might be no Proscription ; but when it was once begun, he executed it more severely than either of them. For they were prevail'd on for several by Intercession and by Friends, but he alone insisted that none shou'd be spar'd, proscribing even his Tutor *C. Toranius*, who had also been Collegue with his Father *Octavius* in the Edileship. *Junius Saturninus* also reports of him, that when the Proscription was over, *Lepidus* made an excuse in the Senate for the past Proceedings, and gave them Hopes of his observing more Clemency for the future, since the Punishments had been carry'd to a sufficient Length ; but *Octavius* on the contrary declar'd, he had resolv'd on a Proscription of such a Nature, as shou'd leave him free to act as he pleas'd. But repenting afterwards of his Obstinacy, he promoted *T. Vinus Philopemen* to the Equestrian Dignity, because he was said to have conceal'd his Patron when he was proscrib'd. While he was possess'd of this Power, he was full of barbarous Revenge. Thus the People crouding in once among the Soldiers as he was making an Oration, he took notice that *Pinaris*, a Roman Knight, wrote something down ; and looking upon him as a busie Fellow and a Spy, he order'd him to be slain before his Face. And *Tedius Afer*, the Consul Elect, having sharply censur'd one of his Actions, he so terrify'd him with his Threatnings, that he threw himself from an Eminence and broke his Neck. And *Q. Gallius* the Pretor, carrying a \* Table-Book

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under

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\* The Table-Books were made of Parchment several times folded. They were nam'd according to the Number of the Folds, hence *Suetonius* calls this, *Tabellas duplices*, because it consisted of Two Folds.



under his Garment, when he waited on him at the Morning Salutation, he suspected he had conceal'd a Dagger there ; and not venturing to make any Inquiry, lest it shou'd prove otherwise, he had him shortly after taken out of Court by the Centurions and Soldiers, and tortur'd like a Slave ; and when he confess'd nothing, he commanded him to be kill'd, having first crush'd out his Eyes with his own Hands. Yet in his own Account of this Affair he says, that *Gallius* desir'd an Interview in order to perpetrate a Design against his Person, that he had put him in Prison, and then releas'd him, having forbid him the City, and that he perish'd either by Shipwreck or by Robbers. He accepted a perpetual Tribuneship, but chose himself a Colleague twice in the Space of Five Years. He also assum'd the Office of regulating the Laws and Manners for ever, by which, tho' he had not the formal Honour of the Censorship, he thrice assess'd the People, the first and last time with a Colleague, and the second alone.

23. It was twice in his Thoughts to restore the Commonwealth. Once after he had reduc'd *Anthony*, remembering it had been often objected to him, that he was the Occasion why it was not done, and afterwards his continual ill Health growing very troublesome to him, he summon'd the Magistrates and Senate to his House, and deliver'd to them the Register of the Empire. But reflecting that he cou'd not put himself under a private Character with Safety, and that it was a rash thing to give up the Conduct of the State to the Will of many, he chang'd his Thoughts, and resolv'd to keep it in his own Hands. In which Action 'tis uncertain whether his Intention or the Event deserves most to be admir'd. For as he was always magnifying his Purposes and Zeal for the common Good, so in one of his Edicts he has these Expressions, *May I be able to bring the Republick into a prosperous and well establish'd Condition, and to see my Endeavours to effect this, produce*  
the

*the Fruits which I desire; that so I may be call'd the Author of the most excellent Plan of Government: And when I die may I carry this Hope with me, That those Foundations of the Commonwealth which I shall lay, will always endure.* And he made himself Master of his Wishes; for it was his whole Application, that no one shou'd ever repent of the Model he introduc'd.

29. The City, which was not adorn'd agreeably to the Majesty of the Empire, and was subject to the Inundations of the *Tiber* and to frequent Fires, he so beautify'd and improv'd, that he justly glory'd he shou'd leave it rais'd of Marble, which he had found built of Brick. He dispos'd it also into as safe a Condition for the future as human Circumspection was able to invent. He founded a great many Publick Edifices; the chief of which were the Forum, with the Fane of *Mars* the Avenger; the Temple of *Apollo* in the *Palatine* Quarter of the City, and of *Jupiter* the Thunderer in the Capitol. The Occasion of his erecting a Forum, was the Multitude of Clients and Law-Suits, for which two Courts not being sufficient, there seem'd to be a Necessity of a third. Wherefore he caus'd Publick Notice to be given with wonderful Expedition, even before the Temple of *Mars* was finish'd, that Judgments and Ballotings shou'd be perform'd separately in the new Forum. He had vow'd a Temple to *Mars* in the War of *Philippe*, which he undertook for revenging his \* Father's Death. In this he ordain'd the Senate shou'd hold their Consultations concerning Wars and Triumphs; that Generals who were going to command in the Provinces shou'd begin their Procession from hence, and that such as return'd Victors shou'd lodge the Trophies of their Conquests here. He built the Temple of *Apollo* in that Part of the *Palatine* Quarter which had been destroy'd by Lightning; and which, the Soothsayers for that Reason declar'd,

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was

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\* Julius Cæsar, who was Augustus's Great Uncle by Blood, and his Father by Adoption. See pag. 52. and 62.

was peculiarly affected by the God: And added a Portico, with a *Greek* and *Latin* Library; in which, when he was grown in Years, he often assembled the Senate, and review'd the Classes of the Judges. He consecrated a Temple to *Jupiter* the Thunderer, upon his being deliver'd from an imminent Danger in his Expedition in *Cantabria*, when a Flash of Lightning struck upon his Litter, as he was travelling by Night, and kill'd the Slave who went before with the Torch. He rais'd several Structures under other Persons Names; as of his Grand-Children, his Wife and his Sister: Such are the Portico and Hall of *Lucius* and *Caius*, and the Portico of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the Theatre of *Marcellus*. He also recommended it to every *Roman* of Distinction to contribute what he cou'd to the Ornament of the City, either by forming new Buildings, or by repairing and polishing the old. And this produc'd a great many Edifices. For *Marcus Philippus* built the Temple of *Hercules*, Companion of the Muses; and *Lucius Confinius* another to *Diana*; *Asinius Pollio*, the Court of Liberty; *Munacius Plancus*, the Temple of *Saturn*; and *Cornelius Balbus*, a Theatre; and *Statilius Taurus*, an Amphitheater; and *Marcus Agrippa*, a large Number of Magnificent Works.

30. He divided the City into \* Regions and Precincts, and appointed that the first shou'd be govern'd by Magistrates elected annually by Lot, and the others by some chosen out of the People of each Neighbourhood. And for a Security against Fires, he instituted a Nightly Watch and Ward; and in order to prevent its Inundations, enlarg'd and cleans'd the Channel of the *Tiber*, which had been long choak'd up with Rubbish, and contracted by Ruines of Houses which had tumbled into it. And to render the Avenues to the City from every Part more commodious, he undertook to repair the *Flaminian*

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\* This Division seems very much to answer our Wards and Parishes.



*minian* Way as far as *Ariminum* at his own Expence, committing the other Roads to Persons who had triumph'd, to be levell'd and pav'd out of the Money arising from the Spoils. Consecrated Places which were fallen by Length of Time, or consum'd by Fire, he rebuilt, and enrich'd them and the rest with inestimable Presents: For he gave at one Donative to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* Sixteen Thousand Pounds Weight of Gold, and Jewels and Pearls, to the Value of Fifty Millions of Sesterces.

31. After he had at last assum'd the High Priesthood upon *Lepidus's* Death, for he refus'd to deprive him of it while he liv'd, he collected together all the Prophetical Books, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, which had been publish'd by Authors either unknown or of no Authority, and burnt above Two Thousand, preserving only the *Sybilline*; and making a Choice out of them, he repos'd them in two Golden Cases, under the Base of *Apollo's* Statue, in the Palatine Quarter of the City. The Year, which had been settled by *Julius Cæsar*, and was again put into Disorder by Negligence, he reduc'd to its primitive Plan, and impos'd his own Name on the Month *Sextilis*, rather than on *September* in which he was born, because in the other he had receiv'd his first Consulate, and obtain'd several celebrated Victories. He augmented the Number, the Dignity, and the Profits of the Priests, particularly of the Vestal Virgins; and when upon the Death of one of them, another was to be put in her stead, and several Parents made Interest that their Daughters might not be chosen, he swore if any of his own Grand-Daughters were of Age he wou'd himself offer them to be consecrated. He reviv'd some antient Ceremonies which were grown out of use; as the \* Augury of Health, the *Flamen Dialis*,  
the

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\* A Kind of Divination, by which they enquir'd whether the Gods wou'd permit them to pray to them for the Health or Safety of the People. *Dion.*

the Lupercal Rites, and the Secular and Compitalian Games. He forbid any who had not a Beard, to run at the Lupercal Plays, and in the Secular he prohibited the Youth of either Sex to be present at any Nocturnal Shews, unless they had some Elder Relation with them. He order'd the \* *Lares Compitales* to be adorn'd twice a Year with Vernal and Summer Flowers. Next to the Immortal Gods he honour'd the Memory of such Generals, as had extended the *Roman* Empire from its small Original to its present ample Dimension. Wherefore he restor'd their publick Works, retaining the † Inscriptions entire, and erected them Triumphal Statues in both the Portico's of his Forum, and declar'd in an Edict, *That he did this on purpose that the People might oblige him while he liv'd, and the Princes of succeeding Ages to form themselves after the Examples of those Illustrious Men.* He remov'd from the Court where *Julius Cæsar* was kill'd, the Statue of *Pompey*, and plac'd it on a Marble Gate over against his Theatre.

32. He rectify'd several Things which were of pernicious Example, and had prevail'd to the great Annoyance of the Publick, either thro' the Licentiousness and extravagant Customs of the Civil Wars, or thro' the supine Remissness of Peace. For a Number of Robbers appear'd openly with Weapons, as if they carry'd them only for their own Defence, and seizing Travellers without Distinction, whether Freemen or Slaves, hurry'd them away to the † Work-Prisons of the Owners of the Grounds where they were taken. Several Factions had also banded together, under the Title of the *New College*,  
to

\* The Household Gods, whose Shrines were set up in the Publick it ays.

† Which were made in Honour of the Founders.

‡ These were narrow subterraneous Places, where the Slaves were kept to hard Labour in grinding Corn, hewing stones, &c.

to the Commission of all manner of Villanies. Planting Guards therefore at convenient Places, he suppress'd the Robbers, and examin'd into those private Prisons, and dissolv'd all Companies which were not of an ancient and legal Constitution. He burn'd the old Tables of Publick Debts, which were made the chief Subject of invidious and false Prosecutions ; and gave such Places in the City as were of a doubtful Property, to the Persons who were in Possession. He struck out from the Criminals Roll the Names of those who had been long confin'd, and whose Accusers propounded to themselves only the malignant Pleasure of seeing them lie in the Nastiness and Misery of a Prison, and ordain'd, that if any renew'd the Suit, he shou'd be liable to the same Hardships. And that no Misdeed might escape unpunish'd, or any Business suffer by Delay, he added to the Days for Publick Pleadings above Thirty, which by Custom were apply'd to the \* Honorary Games. To the Three Benches of Judges he added a Fourth, consisting of Men of an inferior Quality, call'd † *Judices Ducentarii*, who sat upon smaller Matters. He elected Judges at the Age of Thirty Years, that is, Five Years sooner than was usual. And a great many declining to accept the Office, he was hardly prevail'd on to allow each Bench an Annual Vacation in turn, and that the Causes which were wont to be heard in *November* and *December*, shou'd be omitted.

33. He heard Causes, and gave Judgment himself daily, and sometimes by Night. If he was indispos'd, he had a Couch plac'd before the Tribunal, or rested upon one at home while the Debates proceeded. His Decisions were made not only with wonder-

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\* During the Performance of such Games, the Courts of Justice were adjourn'd.

† Call'd so from their sitting such whose Estate was Two hundred a Sestertia, or Five thousand Crowns in Value.



wonderful Attention and Care, but also with great Moderation. For having an Inclination to save one, who was guilty of manifest Parricide, from being † sew'd up in the Sack, since none were expos'd to that Punishment unless they confess'd the Fact, 'tis said he put the Question to him thus, *But certainly, Friend, you did not kill your Father?* And an Indictment concerning a forg'd Will coming before him, in which Case all the Witnesses who sign'd it were equally involv'd by the *Cornelian* Law, he not only gave to the Judges the Two Balls for Condemnation and Acquittment, but also a Third, by which those who had been drawn to subscribe it, by Circumvention or Mistake, shou'd be discharg'd. The Appeals of the Citizens in any Dispute he referr'd to the City Pretor, and such as were made abroad in the Provinces to Consular Men, each of whom he appointed to inspect and decide the Affairs of his particular District.

34. He reviv'd some Laws, and made others entirely new ; as the Sumptuary Law, and the Laws concerning Adultery, Modesty and Bribing, and the Statute which oblig'd the several Orders to marry. But endeavouring to enforce the last something more severely than the others, he met with such Opposition that he cou'd not carry it without abating or mitigating Part of the Penalties, and by augmenting the Rewards, and by allowing every one three Years Space before it shou'd affect him. And when a certain Knight, at a Publick Shew, peremptorily demanded to have it repeal'd, he caus'd *Germanicus's* Children to be brought to him, and placing some in his own and some in their Father's Lap, he held them out to View, intimating by his Looks and Gestures that no one shou'd account it a Hardship

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† The Punishment of a Parricide by the Roman Law, was to be sew'd up in a Sack with a Serpent and an Ape, and to be thrown into the River.

ship to follow the Example of that excellent Youth. Perceiving the Force of the Law was eluded by the Plea of Immaturity, and by frequent Divorces, he determin'd the Time of Marrying, and brought Divorces under proper Limitations.

35. At two Elections he reduc'd to its Original Splendor and Degree the Body of the Senators, who were become a confus'd and numberless Croud ; (for they were above a Thousand, and some of them Persons of a mean Extraction and of no Merit, who got into the House after Cæsar's Death by Favour and Hire, and were therefore call'd by the People \* *Orcini* ) In the first Election he left them every one to chuse his Man, and at the second he and *Agrippa* review'd them and made the final Choice. 'Tis a general Notion that he wore a Coat of Mail beneath his Garments, and went arm'd while he attended this Affair, and that Ten of his Friends of the Senatorian Order, who were very resolute and brave, were planted round his Chair. And *Cordus Cremutius* says, he permitted no Senator to approach him, but singly, and after he had been search'd. He constrain'd some modestly to excuse themselves from accepting that Dignity ; yet he still allow'd them to wear the Habit, to keep their Seat at the Shews, and to have the Privilege of eating at the † Publick Feasts in the Capitol. And that those who were now elected and approv'd might execute their Office the more religiously and with less Fatigue, he ordain'd, that before any one took his Seat in the House, he shou'd sacrifice with Frankincense and Wine at the Altar of that God in whose Temple the Senate was then assembled ; that there shou'd  
not

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\* From *Orcus* the Place of the Shades below ; whither Cæsar, who they pretended had brought them into the House, was descended

† The Senators us'd to have a Banquet in the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol.

not be more than Two \* lawful Senates held in one Month, namely upon the Kalends and upon the Ides ; and that in September or October none shou'd be oblig'd to attend, but such as were chosen by Lot, whose \* Number shou'd be sufficient to pass any Decrees. He instituted a Council also for himself to be nominated every six Months, with whom he debated before hand any Business which was to be laid before a full Senate. In Matters of Consequence he ask'd the Opinions of the Fathers, not according to Custom, or by their Order, but as he thought fit ; that so every one might be prepar'd, as if he were rather to judge upon the Point, than merely to give his Assent in Turn.

36. He was also the Author of several other Things ; as that the † Acts of the Senate shou'd not be made Publick ; that no one shou'd be sent Governor of a Province immediately upon his laying down any Magistracy ; that a certain Sum of Money shou'd be appointed to furnish the Proconsuls with their Equipage of Mules and Tents ; that the Care of the Treasury shou'd pass from the City Questor to the Pretors or Pretorian Men ; and that the \*\* Centumviral Court, which was usually held by the

\* A lawful Senate, was an Assembly of the Senate upon stated and usual Days : There was also a Senatus indictus, which was a Senate call'd by Summons upon any Occasion.

\* Before this Decree Four Hundred were necessary for passing any Act, but Augustus now allow'd a less Number to be sufficient.

† In this Particular Augustus differ'd from Julius Caesar's Opinion, who order'd them to be made Publick ; which was certainly a much fairer and more honourable Method. For to suppress the Publication is the same Thing as for a House of Commons with us to order their Votes not to be printed.

\*\* The Judges of which were a Hundred in Number.



the Questors, shou'd be held by the Decemviri. And that more Persons might come to have a Share in the Government, he invented several new Offices; as Supervisors of the Publick Works, of the Ways and Waters, of the Channel of the Tiber, and of the Distributions of Corn to the People; also a Prefect of the City, a Triumvirate for electing a Senate, and another for \* reviewing the Troops of Horse, as often as there shou'd be Occasion. He also created Censors, who had been long disus'd, and enlarg'd the Number of Pretors: And desir'd that whenever he shou'd be chosen Consul, he might have Two Collegues instead of One; but this was refus'd him, the People universally declaring, it was Diminution enough to his Dignity, that he receiv'd one into that Honour with him, and did not hold it himself alone.

38. Nor was he less generous in honouring all Military Merit. For above Thirty Generals had † perfect Triumphs, and many more had the \*\* Triumphal Ornaments decreed them by his Appointment. And that the Senators Sons might be the sooner form'd to Publick Business, he allow'd them to assume the †† Virile Gown and the Senator's Habit, and to have the Liberty of being present in the House, at one and the same Time. And if they apply'd themselves to Arms, he gave them not only a Tribune's Command in the Legions, but also a Prefect's

\* They examin'd into the Behaviour of the Knights (or Horsemen) and whether they kept Horses handsome and fit for Service.

† Which were perform'd with all the Pomp of Processions in the most solemn Form.

\*\* Instead of having a formal Triumph, the General was sometimes honour'd with the Triumphal Ornaments, viz. the Crown of Laurel, the Robe, the Sceptre, and a Statue.

†† A Habit they wore when they came to Age.

|| Prefect's of the Wings; which was the Post he generally assign'd them, that they might thereby have the better Opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Methods of a Camp. He made frequent Musters of the Horse, reviving the Solemnity of the \* *Transvection* after it had been long disus'd, and suffer'd none to be taken by an Arrest, as they rode in the Procession, which had been commonly done; and such as were remarkable for Age or for any bodily Blemish, he permitted to send their Horses before them in their proper Rank, and to come up on Foot to answer to their Names. And afterwards he gave them leave, if they were above Five and thirty Years old, and did not care to continue longer in the Service, to resign their Horses and retire.

39. Having obtain'd of the Senate ten Assistants, he oblig'd every Knight to give an Account of his Life; animadverting on the Criminal by Penalties and Disgraces, and reprimanding a great many according to their particular Circumstances. His gentlest way of Reproof was by delivering them a seal'd \* Table-Book, which they were to read to themselves immediately on the Spot; and some he branded, because they had taken up Money at a very low Interest, and put it out at an extravagant Rate.

40. At

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|| *The Wings consisted of Allies and Auxiliaries, who were commanded by a Prefect, as the Roman Soldiers were by a Tribune. Augustus made a Prefect's Post higher than a Tribune's, but Claudian afterwards chang'd it, and set a Tribune above a Prefect.*

\* *A solemn Procession, in which the Knights cloath'd in the Robe call'd Trabea, and crown'd with Olive, rode on white Horses from the Temple of Honour to the Capitol.*

\* *In which he wrote their Faults and Vices.*

40. At the Election of Tribunes, if no † Senators stood, he chose them out of the Knights, whom he left free at the Expiration of the Office to continue in which || Degree they pleas'd. And when several of them, having wasted their Patrimony in the Civil Wars, did not dare to place themselves in the Knights Seats at the Publick Spectacles, for fear of being punish'd by the \*\* Laws of the Theatre, he decreed they shou'd not be subject to those Penalties if themselves, or their Parents, had ever been enroll'd in the Equestrian Order. He cess'd the People Street by Street; and that they might not be so often call'd off from their Business to attend the Publick Dole of Corn, he design'd to issue Tickets three times a Year for receiving it every four Months; but at their Instance he renew'd the former Custom of dealing it once a Month. He restor'd the antient ‡ Rights of Assemblies; and having by various Penalties suppress'd the Corruption of buying  
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† No Man cou'd be chosen Tribune who was not a Senator, as was observ'd in the Note § 10.

|| In the Degree of Knights or of Senators.

\*\* Beside being of Quality, it was requir'd that a Man shou'd have an Estate of such a Valuation to entitle him to a Place in the better Range of Seats; according to those Lines in Juvenal.

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Exeat, inquit,  
Si pudor est, & de pulvino surgat Equestri  
Cujus res non legi sufficit. Sat. 3.

Pack hence, and from the cover'd Benches rise,  
(The Master of the Ceremonies cries)  
This is no Place for you, whose small Estate  
Is not the Value of the settled Rate.

Mr. Dryden.

‡ Not the primitive Freedom of Elections, but those Rights which his Uncle Julius had constituted, and which were interrupted by the Civil Wars.



ing Voices at such a Time, he made a Present himself of a Thousand Sesterces a Man to the Members of his own Tribes, the || *Fabian* and *Scaptian*, on the Day of an Election, that they might not expect any Thing from the Candidates. It being also his Opinion, that to preserve the *Roman* People pure from all base Mixture of Foreign and Servile Blood, was a Point of great Importance; he granted the Liberty of the City very sparingly, and put certain Restrictions to the manumitting of Slaves. Thus *Tiberius* applying to him for a Client of his, a *Greek*, he wrote him back Word, *That he wou'd not allow it, unless he appear'd personally and convinc'd him of the just Reason he had to make the Request*. And when *Livia* petition'd in behalf of a certain Tributary *Gaul*, he refus'd to make him a Citizen, but voluntarily offer'd to give him an Immunity from Taxes, declaring, *He wou'd sooner suffer his Treasury to be defrauded, than the Honour of the Roman City to be made Cheap and Common*. And not content with having prevented Slaves by many Difficulties from obtaining a Partial Freedom, and by greater from receiving a compleat Liberty, after he had ordain'd several nice Proviso's concerning the Number, the Condition, and the Distinctions of those who shou'd be manumitted; he also added, that no one who had ever been in Fetters, or had suffer'd the Torture, shou'd in Right of any kind of Liberty be admitted a Denizon of *Rome*. He was desirous to bring up the old † Habit; and observing once a Croud of People round the Rostrum dress'd in dark-colour'd Garments, he cry'd out, in a mighty Passion,

|| *Romanos*

|| *The Fabian Tribe was so call'd from the Fabii who belong'd to it, and the Scaptian from Scaptia a City of Latium. Augustus was of the first by his Adoption into the Julian Family, and of the other by his Birth.*

† *The Gown, which was of a pure White.*

|| *Romanos rerum Dominos, gentemq; togatam!*

See there, the *Romans*, who possess the Crown  
Of the whole World, the Nation of the Gown!

And charg'd the Ediles from thenceforth to permit no Persons to sit in the Forum or the Circus, unless they had laid by their \* upper Clokes, and came only in their Gown.

41. He was liberal on many Occasions to Persons of every Order. For having brought home a Princely Treasure in his *Alexandrine* Triumph, it produc'd such a Plenty of Money, that Interest fell, and the Value of Lands was advanc'd considerably. And afterwards, when he had Sums to spare by a Confiscation of Goods, he lent them freely for a certain Time to such as were able to give double Security. He caus'd the Estate of a Senator to be set at a higher Valuation; and instead of Eight hundred thousand Sesterces, he rais'd it to Twelve hundred thousand, making up the Deficiency to them who fell short of that Rate. He gave frequent Bounties to the People, but generally the Sums were different, being

|| *This is a Verse of Virgil, Æneid 1. The Nation of the Gown is a Circumlocution for the Romans; that Habit being peculiar to them; in some Places of Italy it was only us'd about the Dead,*

Pars magna Italiæ est (si verum admittimus) in qua  
Nemo Togam sumit nisi mortuus. *Juv. Sat. 3.*

*Some distant Parts of Italy are known,  
Where none but only dead Men wear the Gown.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

\* *The Theatres were open at the Top, and therefore some us'd to put on short dark-colour'd Clokes to secure themselves from the Injuries of the Weather.*

being sometimes Four hundred, sometimes Three hundred, or Two hundred and fifty Sesterces; nor did he pass by the younger Boys, tho' it was not the Custom for them to receive any till they were Eleven Years old. In Times of a Scarcity he distributed Corn to them, Man by Man, often at a very small Price, and sometimes *gratis*, and caus'd the Money-Tickets to be doubled.

42. But that it might appear he was a Prince rather concern'd to procure Things necessary and convenient, than to encourage Luxury and Pomp, he told the People very severely, who were complaining of the Want and Dearness of Wine, *His Son-in-Law, Agrippa, had made Provision enough by his Aqueducts for every Man to slake his Thirst.* And when they claim'd a Largess of him which he had promis'd them, he answer'd, *He was a Person of Credit and might be trusted:* And reproach'd them in an Edict with Baseness and Presumption for having demanded one which he had never promis'd them; declaring he wou'd not let them have it now, tho' he had before intended to bestow it. And having signify'd once that he wou'd make such a Distribution, when he discover'd a great many were upon that purposely manumitted and inroll'd among the Citizens, with no less Strictness and Resolution he refus'd to admit those who were not included in his Promise, and gave less than he propos'd to the others, that the Money he had appropriated for this Service might be sufficient to afford every one a Share. In an extraordinary Dearth also, when they were at a Loss for Means to relieve it, having expell'd the Slaves, the Families of the Fencers, a Part of the domestick Servants, and all Foreigners, except Physicians and School-Masters, from the City; and the Season at length recovering, he writes that *He had a strong Inclination for ever to abolish the Publick Doles of Corn, because the Depending on these made the People neglect to till the Lands; but that he did not persist in his Design, because he was persuaded they wou'd be afterwards reviv'd*  
by



by some ambitious Prince. Wherefore he so order'd it, that the Husbandmen and Farmers shou'd at those Times be regarded equally with the Tradesmen of Rome.

43. He surpass'd all who went before him in the Frequency, the Variety and the Magnificence of Publick Shews. Four and twenty Times, he says, he exhibited Games on his own Account, and Three and twenty for other Magistrates, who were either absent or unable to bear the Expence. Sometimes he had them acted in every Street, with a great Number of Scenes, by Players of all Languages. Nor were they perform'd only in the Forum and the Amphitheater, but in the Circus also and the \* *Septa*. And sometimes the Hunting of Wild Beasts was the sole Entertainment. The Wrestlers exercis'd in the *Campus Martius*, where wooden Seats were erected; and in the Field by the *Tiber*, where the *Cæsars Grove* now stands, a spacious Channel was open'd, upon which was represented a Naval Fight. At such Times he planted Guards in the City, lest by the Fewness of those who were left at Home, it shou'd be expos'd to the Insults of Plunderers. In the Circus he produc'd Race Chariots, Runners, and Slayers of Wild Beasts, and sometimes the Champions were young Noble Men of the first Quality. But he celebrated the † *Trojan Exercise* oftner than any, with a select Band of less and greater Boys; esteeming it to be an antient and honourable Custom, for the Youth of any illustrious Line thus to signalize themselves. C. *Nonius Asprenates* being maim'd by a Fall, he presented him with a Golden Chain, and allow'd

\* Inclosures in the *Campus Martius*, in which the People were poll'd at an Election.

† A military Exercise perform'd by Boys on Horseback. It had its Name and Original from *Ascanius's* thus Leading up the Trojan Youth at the Funeral Games for *Anchises*. See it beautifully described by Virgil, *Æn.* 5.

allow'd him and his Posterity to bear the Sirname of \* *Torquatus*. But he afterwards laid down these Diversions, *Asinius Pollio*, the Orator, exclaiming furiously upon the Mischance of his Grandson *Æsernius*, who broke his Thigh by a Fall. He sometimes employ'd Roman Knights to act in the Scene, and to perform as Gladiators; but this was before the †† Decree of the Senate which forbade it; after which he never brought any on the Stage, beside *Lucius*, a Youth of noble Birth, whom he produc'd as a great Curiosity; for tho' he was no more than two Foot high, he weigh'd Seventeen Pounds, and had a Voice like Thunder. At one of the Shews he led the *Parthian* Hostages, who were the first that were sent, across the Stage to shew them to the People, and plac'd them above himself in the Second Row of Boxes. And beside the Days of the customary Spectacles, if any thing wonderful and unusual arriv'd in Rome, he us'd to make a Sight of it in some publick Place. Thus he shew'd a Rhinoceros in the *Septa*, a Tiger in the Theatre, and a Snake Fifty Cubits long in the Courts of Assemblies. Being suddenly taken ill as he was performing the Circenian Games, in Virtue of a Vow he had made, he laid himself along in his Litter, and so follow'd the Sacred † Chariots in the Procession. And as he celebrated the Sports for the Dedication of *Marcellus's* Temple, the Joints of his Curule Chair starting, threw him backward on the Ground. His Grand-Children also presenting a Play, when the People were in a Consternation lest the House shou'd tumble upon them, and he cou'd by no means appease them, he rose up and  
went

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\* From Torques, a Chain.

†† Augustus himself procur'd this Decree to be pass'd, to restrain the Indecencies of the Knights and the Ladies of Quality, who wou'd often perform in Publick on the Stage.

† The Thensæ, mention'd Page 45.

went and sat down in that Part of the Theatre which was most suspected.

44. He regulated the Manner of beholding the Publick Shews, which was become very disorderly. That which provok'd him to it, was the Indignity a Senator suffer'd, who coming in at the famous Games at *Patetoli*, among a croud'd Audience, no Man stir'd to give him Room. Upon this the Fathers made a Decree, that in all Publick Spectacles the first Gallery shoud be reserv'd for the Senators. He forbid Ambassadors at *Rome*, tho' of Nations free and in Alliance, to sit in the *Orchestra*, having observ'd several of them to be only manumitted Slaves. He also parted the † Soldiers from the People, and assign'd a particular Quarter to the marry'd Men of the Commons; and dispos'd the Seats of the young Noble-Men into the Form of a Wedge, next to whom were the Tutors; and order'd that none with \* sully'd Garments shoud  
F come.

|| *The Seats in the Roman Theatre were divided into three Orders; of which the Orchestra was the first, and belong'd to the Senators; the second was the Equestris, which was reserv'd to the Knights; and the Popularis was the third, in which sat the Common People. We are not to understand that Augustus, by this Regulation, added any new Ranges of Seats, but only that he made several Partitions in each Order.*

† *Perhaps Augustus intended it as an Honour to the Soldiers to part them from the Common People; for by their Profession they were of a superior Rank, as appears by what is observ'd in the Note, pag. 41.*

\* *The Romans us'd to come to the Publick Games in their Gowns very clean and white, but some began now to be more negligent, and wore either Gowns all soil'd and dirty, or a kind of short upper Cloke, which was of the natural Colour of the Wool, or of a dark smeary Hue.*



come into the Pit. He permitted not the †† Women to behold the Gladiators, as they were wont to do, promiscuously, but oblig'd them to sit by themselves in an upper Gallery; and appointed the Vestal Virgins a separate Place in the Theatre, over against the Pretor's Seat. He utterly excluded the Female Sex from the Sight of the Wrestlers; and therefore in his ‖ Pontifical Games, he put off the Performance of a couple of celebrated Champions, to the next Morning, and signify'd, *It was his Pleasure that no † Women shou'd enter the Theatre before the \* Fifth Hour.*

45. He generally beheld the *Circensian* Sports from the Apartments of his Friends and Freedmen, and

†† Augustus thought it more convenient and modest for the Women to sit regularly, and apart from the Men, tho' it by no means became the softer Sex to be at all present at so barbarous and bloody a Sight. But in Juvenal's Time the Women were so shameless, that they turn'd Gladiators themselves, and fought in Publick.

Adspice quo fremitu monstratos perferat ictus,  
Et quanto galea curvetur pondere; quanta  
Poplitibus sedeat, quam denso fascia libro!

Sat. 6.

Behold the strutting Amazonian Whore,  
She stands in Guard with her right Foot before:  
Her Coats tuck'd up, and all her Motions just;  
She stamps, and then cries hab! at ev'ry Thrust.

Mr. Dryden.

‖ Games which Augustus presented at his entering on the High-Priesthood.

† He forbade the Women to come into the Theatre till after the Time when those Champions perform'd, because they fought naked.

\* Eleven in the Morning.

and sometimes from the † Place reserv'd for the Images of the Gods, where he sat with his Wife and Children. He wou'd be absent from the Shews for several Hours, and sometimes whole Days, having first ask'd the Permission of the Assembly, and nominated some to ‡ preside in his Stead, and give the necessary Directions. But when he was present, he attended entirely to the Diversions; either to avoid the popular Reflection which he remembered was cast upon his Father Cæsar, that while the Games were acting, he employ'd himself in reading Letters and Addresses, and framing Answers to them, or from the wonderful Delight he took in those Entertainments, which he always ingenuously own'd gave him exceeding Pleasure. Hence he frequently bestow'd Coronets and very valuable Rewards of his own at the Spectacles which were exhibited by others; and was never present at any \* Grecian Exercise where he did not honour every one of the Combatants according to his Merit. But he was particularly fond of seeing the Game of the Whorlbat, especially by Latin Champions, not only when they were Fellows regularly train'd up to the Play, whom he wou'd at any time fight against the Grecians, but also when it was a promiscuous Multitude of Townsmen fighting rudely at

F 2

all

† *A Place in the Theatre, where the Images were repos'd on fine Couches. Augustus out of Veneration to the Gods, wou'd not lie down among them, but sat; tho' Nero afterwards made himself their Equal, and loll'd with them familiarly on the Sacred Bed, as one of the Number*

‡ *The Emperors govern'd the Publick Shews, and order'd what Champions, and what Number of Combatants shou'd be brought on, &c.*

\* *An Exercise either perform'd by Grecians or of a Grecian Original, or perhaps both. For the Grecians were generally more expert than the Latins at several Games which the Romans borrow'd from Greece.*

all Adventures, without Skill, in the narrow Turnings of the Streets. In a word, he took notice of all sorts of Persons any way belonging to the Publick Spectacles, and vouchsaf'd to have them under his Care. He confirm'd their Privileges to the Wrestlers, and enlarg'd them; and prohibited any to present a Scene of Gladiators in which the † Combatants were not allow'd to have Quarter. The Magistrates Power of punishing the Players, which was by the old Law extended to all Times and Places, he abolish'd; and confin'd it to the Stage and the time of Acting. Yet he put both the Wrestlers and the Gladiators under as strict a Regulation in performing their several Exercises; and restrain'd the Licentiousness of the Players so far, that understanding *Stephanio*, a Comedian, kept a Matron to wait upon him, with her Hair cropt short round her Head, in the Habit of a Boy, he caus'd him to be whip'd thro' three Theaters, and then banish'd him; and scourg'd *Hylas*, the \*\* Pantomime, at the Complaint of the Pretor, in the Court-yard of his own House, with the Doors open to admit all

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† The Gladiator who was foil'd, humbly beg'd his Life of the People, and if they allow'd his Suit he was sav'd, if not, his Antagonist slew him on the Spot. The People seldom declar'd in his Favour, but took a cruel Pleasure in seeing him put to the Sword, and in Token of Death bent their Thumbs backward.

.....verso pollice vulgi  
 Quemlibet occidunt populariter. *Juv. Sat. 3.*

*Where influenc'd by the Rabble's bloody Will,  
 With Thumbs bent back they popularly kill.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

\*\* A Player who represented any Story in Dumb Shew by Gestures.



all Comers ; and proſcrib'd *Pylades* both the City and *Italy*, becauſe he had pointed at a Spectator who hiſs'd him, with his Finger, and ſingled him out to the whole Aſſembly.

46. Having thus ſettled the City and the Affairs of it, he ſent out Eight and twenty Colonies to re-people *Italy*, and greatly enrich'd it with Buildings and Commerce ; and in ſome Reſpects made it equal to *Rome* in Privileges and Dignity, inventing a new Way by which the Inhabitants might give their † Suffrages for chuſing Magiſtrates at *Rome* ; for the Head of each Colony was order'd to collect the Voices of his own Division, and ſend them ſeal'd to *Rome* againſt the Day of the Election. And that a Number of Perſons of Rank might never be wanting, nor the Race of the meaner People decay, he admitted into the Claſs of Knights Military ſuch as deſir'd it, at the publick Recommendation even of any Town ; and thoſe of the common People who brought to him in his Progreſs thro' the †† Regions of *Italy*, a lawful Offspring of Sons or Daughters, he preſented with a Thouſand Sesterces apiece for every Child.

47. The more potent Provinces, which cou'd neither with Eaſe nor Safety be under the Command of Yearly Magiſtrates, he reſerv'd to his own Government, and aſſign'd the reſt to Proconſuls by Lot, ſometimes interchanging them, and often taking a Progreſs both into theſe and into thoſe immediately under himſelf. Some Cities which were indeed Confederate, but were on the Point of making a pernicious Uſe of their Liberty, he depriv'd of it, and reliev'd others which were deeply in Debt, rebuilding ſeveral that were overthrown by Earthquakes ; and ſuch as pleaded their Merits towards the *Romans* he endow'd with the Privileges of

F 3

*Latins*


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† To ſave them the Trouble and Expence of making a Journey to *Rome* upon ſuch Occaſions.

†† *Augustus divided Italy into Eleven Regions.*

*Latins*, or the Freedom of the City. There is not a Province, I believe, where he had not been in Person, excepting only *Africa* and *Sardinia*. And as he was preparing to pass thither from *Sicily*, after the Defeat of *Sextus Pompeius*; he was prevented by continual and furious Storms, and had never afterwards any Occasion or Opportunity to visit those Parts.

48. He either restor'd the Kingdoms, which he held by Right of Conquest, except a few, to the same Possessors from whom he had taken them, or confer'd them on Strangers. The Kings who were in Alliance with him he united to each other by mutual Friendship, which he was always very ready to cultivate between them, making it his Concern to do good Offices to them as common Members and Parts of the Empire. To Minors and Lunatics he appointed Guardians, till they should come to Age or recover their Understanding, and educated the Children of a great many together with his own.

49. The Legions and Auxiliaries of his Forces, he divided into the Provinces, and appointed a Fleet to lie at *Misenum* and *Ravenna* for the Defence of the † upper and lower Seas, and chose out a certain Number of Men, partly for the Protection of the City, and partly of his Person, discharging the †† *Calaguritane* Band and the *German*, the first of which he had kept about him for a Guard till *Anthony's* Defeat, and the last till the Overthrow of *Varus*. Yet he never suffer'd above Three Cohorts to be in the City, nor did he permit these to make an Encampment there, and the rest he us'd to quarter both

† *The Adriatick and Tuscan Sea.*

†† *The Calaguritanes were a People of Spain, belonging to the City Calaguris which stood on the Iber (now the Ebro). Augustus disbanded his Guard of Spaniards with better Success than his Uncle Julius had done before him, who was stab'd shortly after he dismiss'd them.*

both in Winter and Summer in the Frontier Towns. He restrain'd also the Soldiers, where-ever they were, to a settled Rate both for their Pay and their Rewards, and determin'd the Time of their Serving, and the Premium they were to receive at their Dismission, according to every one's Degree, lest their Age or Necessities shou'd put them upon raising Disturbances after they were releas'd. And that he might always have a Fund to subsist them, and answer all their Occasions without any Difficulty, he instituted a Military Treasury with a Revenue appropriated to it. In Order to have whatever pass'd immediately convey'd to him without Delay, he posted Young Men at convenient Distances on the Roads where the Soldiers were quarter'd, and afterwards set up Carriages to come quite thro', which seem'd more expedient; because then, if the Affair requir'd it, the same Persons who brought the Letters directly from any Place, might also be personally examin'd.

50. In sealing his Commissions, Orders and Letters, he at first us'd the Figure of a \* Sphinx, and afterwards the Image of *Alexander* the Great, and lastly his own, engrav'd by *Dioscorides*; and the succeeding †† Princes continu'd to use the same. He express'd in all his Letters the Minute of the Hour, both of the Day and Night, in which they were dated.

51. The Proofs of his Clemency and Gentleness are many and great. For, not to repeat how many of the Enemy's Party, or who they were, whom having given them Pardon and Protection he permitted to hold the chief Places in the City, he was contented to punish *Junius Novatus* and *Cassius Papi-*

F 4

vinus,

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\* A Monster, which had a Woman's Face, the Wings of a Bird, a Lion's Claws, and the other Parts like a Dog.

†† Except Galba; for he us'd the Seal of his Ancestors, which was, a Dog looking out as the Prow of a Ship.



*vinus*, both of the Common People, one only with a Fine, and the other with a light Exile; the first having publish'd a severe Letter against him in the Name of young *Agrippa*, and the other declar'd at a full Table, *He wanted neither Will nor Resolution to stab him.* And once in open Court *Æmilius Ælianus Cordubensis*, among other Crimes, was charg'd in particular with having vilify'd *Augustus*, who turning to the Accuser, *I wish*, said he in a seeming Passion, *thou cou'dst prove this, for I wou'd then make Ælianus perceive I also have a Tongue, and cou'd say more of him.* And neither at this time nor afterwards did he enquire farther into the Matter. *Tiberius* complaining violently to him about it in a Letter, he wrote him back Word, *I desire, my Tiberius, you wou'd not indulge the impetuous Resentments of Youth in this Particular, nor be so extremely provok'd at any one's speaking ill of us. It is sufficient if we have this Advantage, that it is not in the Power of any to do us Harm.*

52. Tho' he knew it was customary to decree Temples even to the Proconsuls, yet he never accepted of this Honour in any Province; but when the Inscription was directed in common to himself and Rome, and in the City he always inflexibly refus'd it. He also melted down the Silver Statues which had been formerly erected to him, and out of the Sale of them dedicated several Golden Tripods to *Apollo*. And when the People press'd the Dictatorship upon him very warmly, he kneel'd down, and throwing off his Gown from his Shoulders, presented

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\* The principal Part of this Self-Denial of *Augustus* consists in his not admitting the Romans to erect him a Temple in the City, and accepting the Honour only from the People in the Provinces, which was no such extraordinary Dignity, for as the Romans thought of themselves with the highest Vanity, according to the proud Expression of *Florus*, who styles them *Princeps Populus*, so they had a very mean Opinion of other Nations.

presented his \* Bosom to them bare, and declin'd the Offer.

53. The Appellation of † L O R D he always abhor'd as extravagant and shameful. And when one of the Actors, as he was at the Play, spoke these Words upon the Stage, *O just and gracious Lord*, and all the People applauded it as if meant of him, he immediately check'd their indecent Adulation by the Motion of his Hand and by his Looks, and the next Day severely reprov'd them in an Edict, and wou'd never permit himself to be styl'd L O R D, even by his Children or Grand-Children, either seriously or in jest, forbidding them also to use such fulsome Titles among themselves. He seldom enter'd any City or Town, or went out of it, but in the Evening or by Night, lest he shou'd put any one to the Trouble of paying him the Forms of Respect. In his Consulship he generally walk'd on Foot, and afterwards was often carry'd abroad in an open Chair. He admitted the Common People to make their Salutations to him promiscuously with those of Condition, and receiv'd the Addresses of all in so affable a Manner, that he facetiously play'd upon \* one, and told him, *he stood offering him his Paper, just as if he were giving a Farthing to an Elephant*. The Days when the Senate assembled, he always saluted the Fathers in Court, and as they

F 5

were.

\* *By this Gesture he signify'd he had rather they wou'd take his Life than oblige him to accept the Dictatorship; for Augustus prudently remember'd how odious it had render'd his Uncle, and how much it contributed to his Ruine.*

† *He thought it a Title too sublime and great.*

\* *Rallying his Fearfulness and Hesitation in presenting his Petition.*

were sitting, and every one by Name, without a Prompter; and at his going out he took Leave of them in the same Manner. He readily paid the common Forms of Respect and Civility, upon ordinary Occasions in private Life, to several Persons, and continu'd obligingly to give them his Company at their Festivals and Entertainments, till he was advanc'd in Years. And once amid the Crouds of People at a certain Nuptial, with which he was heartily tir'd, he made such an Impression by his kind and tender Persuasions upon *Gallus Terrinius*, a Senator, but little known to him, who had suddenly lost his Sight, and therefore intended to starve himself to Death, that he prevail'd with him to resolve to live.

54. As he was speaking in the Senate, some body answer'd him, *I don't understand you*; and another turn'd upon him, *If I were but in Power, I wou'd contradict you*. And when he was striking out of the House one Day in a Passion, because of their intemperate Heats and Wranglings, some of them told him directly, *That the Senators ought to have the Privilege of speaking freely upon the Affairs of the Common Wealth*. *Antistius Labeo*, at an Election of Senators, where every one chose his Man, made choice of *Lepidus*, who was formerly *Augustus's* Enemy, and was then an Exile, and being ask'd by him, *Whether there were not others more deserving?* He answer'd, *Every Man had the Liberty of his own Opinion*.

55. Yet no one's Freedom or Arrogance became a Snare to him, or did him a Prejudice; and when several scandalous Lampoons upon himself were spread thro' the Court, he was neither alarm'd at them, nor very solicitous to answer them; nor did he inquire after the Authors, but only ordain'd that for the future all Persons shou'd be call'd to Account, who in their own or a fictitious Name, publish'd Libels or defamatory Verses upon any Man.

56. The



56. The invidious and petulant Jests which some made upon him, provok'd him no farther than to reply to them in an Edict: And he interceded with the Senate not to prohibit the Licence People generally took in their \* Wills. Whenever he was at an Election, he went round the Tribes with the Candidates for whom he appear'd, and entreated the Members Voices in the usual Manner; and gave his Vote in his own Tribe like one of the common Citizens. He suffer'd himself with great Temper to be examin'd as a Witness in Courts of Justice, and to be refuted in his Evidence. He streighten'd his Forum which he erected, in Compass, because he cou'd not bring himself to force the Owners of the neighbouring Houses to give up their Possessions. He never recommended his Sons to the People, but he added, *if they shall deserve it*; and express'd a wonderful Uneasiness when the whole Assembly † rose up to them, not being yet of Age, and clap'd them standing. He delighted to have his Friends very great and powerful in the City, yet so as that they shou'd be under the same Restraints with others, and equally subject to the Laws. Accordingly when *Asprenas Nonius*, who was very dear to him, was accus'd of Poysoning by *Cassius Severus*, he consulted the Senate how it wou'd become him to act in that Affair: For he was afraid, he said, if he appear'd at the Trial, he shou'd screen a Criminal from the Laws; and if he were absent, that he shou'd be thought to desert and prejudge his Friend. And, when they had all consented

to

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\* The Romans took the Liberty in their last Testaments of censuring and condemning any Person they pleas'd, and railing at him hearily.

† The Audience by this Ceremony, paid them the highest Respect and Applause; and the Reflection of Tacitus is very just who says, Augustus was displeas'd at it, because it is only Honours are apt to puff up the weak Minds of Men, and fill them with Vanity and Pride.

to it, he sat down for some Hours upon the lower Benches, but without speaking a Word, or offering any Evidence in his Favour. He always supported his Dependents, as he did a certain || *Scutarius*, one of his Veteranes, who was under an Action of Slander. Out of all the Numbers of Criminals he interpos'd to save only one, namely *Castricius*, by whose Means he discover'd the Conspiracy at *Murena*; and even him he deliver'd merely by Intreaties, having prevail'd on his Accuser himself, in the Presence of the Judges, to desist and withdraw the Suit.

57. How extremely he was belov'd for these beautiful Qualities may be easily conceiv'd. I omit the Decrees of the Senate, which may seem to have proceeded from Constraint or from Complaisance. Of their own accord, the Roman Knights always celebrated his Birth, by a general Consent, for two Days together. And all Orders threw a \* Piece of Money into *Curtius's* Lake every Year, in a Vow, for his Health. They also offer'd, even in his Absence, a New-Year's Gift in the Capitol, upon the † Kalends of January, with the Sum arising from which Offerings, he purchas'd and dedicated very costly Images of

\* i. e. upon the common Seat where the Criminal, and those who appear'd for him, us'd to be plac'd.

|| A Military Title, answering to that of Esquire with us, which was originally a Term of Martial Dignity.

\* A superstitious Rite; design'd, perhaps, as a Bribe to the Infernal Gods, to spare Augustus. This Lake was nam'd from *Curtius*, who when the Ground gap'd there widely for several Days, arm'd himself completely, and mounting on Horseback, precipitated himself into the Gulf, as a Sacrifice to the Manes, upon which it immediately clos'd.

† January the 1st.

of the Gods in several Parts of the City; as of *Apollo* †† *Sandaliarius*, and *Jupiter* \*\* *Tragedus*, and others. The Veteranes, the ‖ Decuries, the Tribes, and even Persons of every Rank, made a voluntary Contribution, according to their Ability, to the Rebuilding his House on *Palatine* Mount, which was consum'd by Fire. But he accepted only a small Portion out of the Heaps which were advanc'd him, not suffering any Man to go beyond a ‡ *Denarius*. As he return'd from any of the Provinces they receiv'd him not only with Good Wishes but with Publick Songs. And whenever he enter'd the City, it became a Custom, on that Day, not to punish any Offender.

58. The Title of *Pater Patriæ*, Father of his Country, was confer'd on him by the ready and most unanimous Consent of all Degrees. The Commons began it, sending a solemn Deputation with it to him at *Antium*; and because he did not accept it, they gave it him in a full Body, with \* Laurels on their Heads, as he open'd the Publick Games at *Rome*; and it was confer'd upon him afterwards in the Senate; not by a Decree, nor by † Acclamation, but by *Valerius Messalla*

†† Call'd so from the Quarter where the Image stood, which was inhabited by those who made Sandals or sold them.

\*\* Because the Tragedians dwelt in that Street.

‖ A Body of ten Men; three of which made a Turma or Troop of the Roman Cavalry.

‡ Seven Pence Halfpenny.

\* They dress'd themselves in this Triumphant Manner to express the Respect and Gladness with which they offer'd him that Title.

† When the Senators one and all at once declar'd for any Resolution. But as this was done tumultuously in a Heat, they chose to send a Message, which shew'd the sober and deliberate Sense of the House.



*Missalla* in a formal Message from the whole House, which he thus deliver'd. *All Happiness and Good attend thee and thy Family; Caesar Augustus, (for in this we believe we pray for the perpetual Felicity of the whole Republick) the Senate, agreeing with the People, jointly salutes thee, FATHER OF THE COUNTRY.* To whom *Augustus*, with Tears, reply'd in these Words, (which I have punctually set down as I did those of *Missalla*;) *My Desires, Venerable Fathers, being now accomplish'd, what have I more to ask of the Immortal Gods, than that I may preserve this Consent of yours to the last Period of my Life?*

59. To *Antonius Musa*, his Physician, who had recover'd him from a dangerous Sicknefs, they erected a Statue of Brass, beside that of *Æsculapius*. And some Masters of Families expressly provided that after their Decease, their Heirs shou'd cause Victims to be led to the Capitol and pay the Vow they had made for *HAVING LEFT AUGUSTUS IN HEALTH*. Several Cities of *Italy* also made the Day, on which he first visited them, the beginning of their Year. And many Provinces, beside raising Temples and Altars to him, instituted \*\* Quingen-  
nial Games in his Honour, almost in every Town.

60. The Kings who were his Friends and Allies, each in his own Dominions, founded Cities by the Name of *Cæsaria*, and all in Conjunction design'd to finish, at their common Charge, the Temple of *Jupiter Olympicus*, which was formerly began at *Athens*, and to dedicate it to his Genius: And very often they left their Kingdoms, and putting on the *Roman* Habit waited on him daily, not at *Rome* only, but also in his Progress thro' the Provinces, without their Ensigns of Royalty, in Manner of his Dependents.

61. And thus having represented what he was in his Command, in his Magistracies, and in governing  
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\*\* Games perform'd every Fifth Year.

the Republick in Peace and War, I shall now relate his domestick and familiar Life; and shew how he behav'd at home among his Relations, from his Youth to the last Moment when he expir'd. He lost his Mother in his first Consulship, and his Sister *Octavia* in the Fifty-fourth Year of his Age. And as he perform'd all Offices of Duty and Affection to both when living, so when they were dead he paid them the highest Honours.

62. In his Youth he was contracted to the Daughter of *P. Servilius Isauricus*; but being reconcil'd to *Anthony* after their first Difference, and the Troops of each General pressing to have some intimate Alliance form'd between them, he marry'd *Anthony's* Daughter-in-Law *Claudia*, who was the Daughter of *Fulvia* by *P. Clodius*, and was then scarcely of a marriagable Age. But a Misunderstanding arising between him and *Fulvia*, the Mother, he return'd her Daughter to her a perfect Virgin. After this he took *Scribonia*, who had been marry'd to two Consular Men, and was a Mother by one. Her also he divorc'd, not being able, as he writes, to support her perverse and troublesome Temper; and immediately forc'd away *Livia Drusilla* from her Husband *Tiberius Nero*, tho' she was then big with Child, and her he continu'd to love without Alteration.

63. By *Scribonia* he had *Julia*, but he had no Children by *Livia*, tho' he passionately wish'd it. For the *Fetus*, with which she had once conceiv'd, prov'd an Abortive. He marry'd *Julia* first to *Marcellus*, his Sister *Octavia's* Son, who was under Age; and upon his Death, he gave her to *M. Agrippa*, having prevail'd with his Sister to resign her Son-in-Law to him: For *Agrippa* was at that Time marry'd to one of *Octavia's* Daughters, and had Children by her. He also, dying, *Augustus* had several of the Equestrian Order in his Thoughts, and after long Deliberation at last chose *Tiberius* to be his Son-in-Law; constraining him to dismiss his Wife, who was pregnant, and by whom he was already a Father. *M. Anthony*  
writes,

writes, That he contracted Julia first to his Son Anthony, and then to Cotiso King of the Getes, asking at the same time his Daughter in Marriage for himself.

64. He had Three Grand-Sons by Agrippa and Julia; to wit, Caius, Lucius and Agrippa, and Two Grand-Daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Julia he married to L. Paulus, the Son of the Censor, and Agrippina to his Sister's Grandson Germanicus. Caius and Lucius he adopted into his Family, having \* bought them of their Father Agrippa for a certain Weight of Money, and introduc'd them very young to Affairs of State, and employ'd them, when they were Consuls Elect, to visit the Provinces, and to review the Forces. He bred up his Daughter and Grand-Daughters in so strict a manner, that he even oblig'd them to work at the Loom, and forbid them to speak or do anything but in Publick, and what was fit to be inserted in the Diurnal † Register. He prohibited them the Company of Strangers so rigidly, that he wrote Word to L. Tuccinius, a graceful and well born Youth, that He had acted very immodestly in coming to pay his Daughter a Visit at Baia. He instructed his Grand-Sons himself, both in Letters and the Art of ‡ Swimming, and in other Rudiments of Learning; and took Pains with them in nothing so much, as in teaching them to imitate his Hand. He never supp'd but

\* The common Form of Adoption among the Romans. For the People's Consent to the Adoption being obtain'd, the Father was ask'd before proper Witnesses, whether he wou'd transfer all his Paternal Rights and Powers to the Adopter, and upon his assenting, a Portion of Money was weigh'd out to him in a Balance, as the Purchase of his Child.

† A Book of private Minutes, in which Augustus caus'd the Occurrences of the Family to be enter'd.

‡ Among other Parts of a liberal Education with the Romans and Athenians, the Youth were taught to swim; which occasion'd the known Proverb Nec literas didicit, nec natare, He has neither learn'd to read nor to swim.



but he had them plac'd at the lower End of the † Couch, nor made a Journey, but they were carry'd before him in a Chariot, or rode beside him on Horseback.

65. But tho' he pleas'd himself wonderfully with the Prospect of being happy in his Posterity, from the Exactness of the Discipline which he observ'd, Fortune deceiv'd his Expectation. For the *Julia's* were so scandalously lewd, that he banish'd them; and he lost †† *Caius* and *Lucius* in the Space of Eighteen Months; *Caius* dying at *Lycia*, and *Lucius* at *Marseilles*. Upon which he adopted his Third Grand-Son, *Agrippa*, and with him his Son-in-Law *Tiberius*, in the Forum, according to the × Popular Form. Of these he in a short Time rejected *Agrippa*, for his fierce and turbulent Genius, and confin'd him to \* *Surrentum*. He bore the Death of his Children more patiently than their infamous Manners. For at the Loss of *Caius* and *Lucius* he was not extremely dejected, but the Misfortune of his Daughter touch'd him so deeply, that he broke the Affair to the Senate in a Letter, which was read to them in his Absence by the Questor, and saw no Company for a long

† The *Antients* at Table lay sideways on a Couch; but the Women sat and the Children; for Lying was thought too immodest a Posture for the first, and too soft and indulgent for the others.

†† It was suspected they were poison'd by *Livia* and *Tiberius*.

× *Lege Curiatâ*, The Votes of the People being collected from Ward to Ward. For unless their Consent was first obtain'd, no Freeman, who was a Master of a Family, could be adopted by another; because every Citizen was look'd upon as the Property of the Republick.

\* A City of *Campania*.

long while, out of very Confusion and Shame, and even had it under Deliberation to put her to Death. And one of her Confidents, *Phæbe* by Name, hanging herself about the same Time, *He had rather*, he said, *have been the Father of Phæbe than of Julia*. In her Banishment he deny'd her the Use of Wine, and all sumptuous Apparel; nor suffer'd any Freeman or Slave to come near her, without having first apply'd to him for Leave, that so he might observe his particular Age, Stature and Complexion, and even the Marks or Scars of his Body. At the End of Five Years he remov'd her from the Island to the Continent, and treated her somewhat more gently; but cou'd never be prevail'd on to restore her entirely; and when the People several times interceded for her very importunately, he told them, *He wish'd they had all such Daughters and such Wives*. He forbid the Child which was born of *Julia* after her Condemnation, to be own'd or brought up. And *Agrippa*, who was as untractable as ever, and grew more extravagant every Day, he transported into an Island, and put him under a Guard of Soldiers, and provided by a Decree of the Senate, that he shou'd remain there for ever. And sighing always at the Mention of him and of the *Julia's*, he us'd to cry out,

\* Αἶψ' ὄρελον ἀγαμός τ' ἔμψαι, ἀγρόος τ' ἀπολέσαι.

Wou'd Heav'n I ne'er the Marriage State had try'd,  
Or without Progeny at last had dy'd!

Nor did he call them any thing but *His Three Impostumes*, or *His Three Cankers*.

66. He was slow in admitting Friendships, and very constant in preserving them when once contracted; not only esteeming the Virtues and Merits of a Friend, but even bearing with his Faults and Vices

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\* Homer, *Iliad*. 3.

Vices if they were not extream. For we shall find scarcely any of all the Number fell into Disgrace with him, except *Salvidienus Rufus* and *Cornelius Gallus* : The first of whom he had rais'd to the Consulship, and the other to the Government of *Ægypt*, from the meanest Condition. *Rufus*, who was projecting some dangerous Designs, he deliver'd up to the Senate to be sentenc'd ; and for his Ingratitude and malicious Intentions, forbad *Gallus* both his House and his Provinces ; and when he was so push'd at by the Depositions of his Accusers, and the Decrees of the Senate, that he laid violent Hands on himself, *Augustus* commended the Zeal they had express'd on his Account, but bursting into Tears, lamented his own Condition, \* *That he alone cou'd not be as angry with his Friends, as he thought fit.* The rest continu'd flourishing in Power and Riches at the Head of their several Orders, to the End of their Lives, tho' they did not altogether escape his Reproof. For sometimes, to mention no other Instances, he wish'd *Agrippa* had been Master of more Patience, and *Mæcenæ* of greater Taciturnity ; the first upon the Suspicion of a Slight, and of *Marcellus's* being preferr'd before him, having flung up all, and retir'd to *Mitylene* ; and the last imparted the Secret concerning the Discovery of the Conspiracy at *Murena*. to his Wife *Terentia*. He expected also that his Friends shou'd shew a mutual Affection to him, as well after their Death, as when they were living. And tho' he was far from coveting Inheritances, (for if any thing was left him by the Will of an unknown Person, he would

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† 'Tis upon this Gallus that Virgil wrote his Tenth Pastoral.

\* The Meaning is, that he cou'd not shew a Displeasure at the ill Behaviour of his Friends, but the People also ran upon them with so much Violence, as hurry'd them to such Fatal Extremities.



wou'd never accept it) yet he strictly ponder'd the last Judgments of his Friends express'd in their Wills, and dissembled not his Concern if they mention'd him there lightly, or in a dishonourable Manner; nor his Joy, if they treated him respectfully and with Kindness. The Legacies or Possessions which were devis'd him by any Parents, he restor'd to their Children immediately, or, if they were under Age, upon the Day of their putting on the Gown of Manhood, or at their Marriage, with a handsome Addition of his own.

67. As he was an easy and gentle Master to his Domesticks, so upon some Occasions he was as severe. For he preferr'd several of his Freed-Men, as *Licinius*, *Elcencidus*, and others; and made frequent Use of their Service. And when *Cosmus*, his Slave, had impudently reflected on him, he only laid him in Irons; and chose to accuse his Steward *Diomedes* rather of Cowardise than of a Crime, when a Wild Boar bolting out suddenly upon them, as they were walking together, he push'd his Lord forward upon the Beast, turning a Matter of the utmost Danger into a Jest, because it was not done with a treacherous Design. Yet he put to Death *Proclus*, his Favorite Freed-Man, because he was discover'd to have corrupted several Matrons; and broke the Legs of his Amanuensis *Thallus*, for accepting Five Hundred Denaries to betray one of his Letters. And the Preceptor and Servants of his Son *Caius*, taking the Opportunity of his Sickness and Death to carry themselves insolently, and to pillage and oppress his Province, he caus'd great Weights to be ty'd to their Necks, and had them thrown into the River.

68. In his Youth he labour'd under an infamous Character for several Actions of Lewdness. *Pompey* charg'd him with being effeminate, and *M. Anthony* told him he had purchas'd his Adoption of his Uncle by becoming his Prostitute. And *Lucius*, the Brother of *Marcus*, affirm'd, that he was deflowr'd  
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by *Cæsar*, and that he let himself out to \* *Hirtius* in Spain for Three hundred thousand Sesterces, and us'd to singe his Thighs with Nut-Shells, to make the Hairs come up the softer. And the whole Body of the People one Day at the Games, with vast Acclamations, apply'd in his Disgrace a Verse spoken on the Stage concerning a Priest of *Cybele* beating his Tabor.

† *Videsne ut Cinadus orbem digito temperet?*

See how the Pathick, with his Finger, still Commands th' obsequious Orb and tempers at his Will?

69. That he was guilty of Adulteries, even his Friends do not deny; but they pretend in his Excuse it was not to gratify his Lust, but out of Reasons of State, that he might discover the Counsels of his Enemies by their Wives. And *M. Anthony*, beside his hasty Marriage with *Livia*, taxes him with taking a Consular Woman from Table and leading her out before her Husband's Face into his Chamber, returning her afterwards to the Company with glowing Ears, and her Hair all disorder'd; that he put away *Scribonia*, because she resented the extravagant Power of one his Concubines; and that he employ'd his Friends to search after Matrons and Virgins, and survey them naked, and to drive the Bargain for them in as shameless a manner as the common

\* The same *Hirtius* whom Augustus was suspected to have murder'd. See Page 65.

† The Priests of *Cybele* were castrated, and prostituted themselves. The Verse may signify that the Priest, who was a Catamite, play'd on the Tabor (*Orbis*) with his Finger, or that Augustus was a Pathick, and command-ed the World at his Pleasure. The first is the direct Meaning, and the People apply'd it in the latter.

mon Pimp *Thoranius*. And while there was yet no direct Breach between them, *Anthony* treats him thus familiarly in a Letter; *I wonder in my Heart what has chang'd your Mind? Is it that I go in to the \* Queen? Supposing I do, is that a new Thing, or have I not done it these Nine Years? Pray do you visit Drusilla only? Heaven help you, as after you have read my Letter, you are not concern'd with Tertulla, or Terentilla, or Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them. And what does it signify where and with whom you practice?*

70. A secret Supper of his, vulgarly call'd *Sodæ-næ* †, *The Banquet of the Twelve Gods*, was also very much talk'd of. That the Guests appear'd in the Habit of Gods and Goddesses, and he was dress'd up to personate *Apollo*, is charg'd upon them not only in *Anthony's* Letter, where all their Names are mention'd very satirically, but also in these anonymous Verses;

*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,  
Seoque Deos vidit Mælia, serque Deas:  
Impia dum Phæbi Cæsar mendacia ludit,  
Dum nova diuorum canat adulteris,  
Omnia se à terris tunc numina declinarunt:  
Fugit & auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.*

† Six Gods and Goddesses the Banquet grace,  
And at the Table take their proper Place;  
There, while bold Cæsar plays *Apollo's* Part,  
And acts th' Adulteries of the Sky with Art,  
Abash'd such impious Spectacles to view,  
Th' offended Deities in haste withdrew,  
And from his Golden Throne *Jove* in Amaze-  
ment flew.

This

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\* Cleopatra.

† As the Satire of these Lines is particularly aim'd at *Augustus*, the Meaning is, that he acted over the Adulteries of the Gods in so lewd and impious a Manner, that the mock Deities, his Guests, were put out of Countenance, and left the Table.



This Entertainment made the greater Noise, because at that time there was an extream Scarcity in the City; and it was given out, the next Day, that *the Gods had eat up all the Corn*, and that Cæsar was indeed become Apollo, but it was Apollo the Tormentor; for Apollo was worshipp'd by that Name in one part of the City. He was accus'd of being extravagantly fond of rich Furniture and † *Corinthian Vessels*, and of Gaming without Moderation. For even when the Proscription was on foot, some body wrote upon his Statue, *Pater Argentarius, Ego Corinthiarus: My Father dealt in Silver, I deal in Corinthian Ware*; because it was believ'd he had put some into the Proscription for the sake of their *Corinthian Vessels*. And in the *Sicilian War* there was publish'd this Epigram.

*Postquam bis classe victus, naves perdidit,  
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

His shatter'd Fleet by Shipwreck twice destroy'd,  
To win at length, the Die he closely ply'd

71. Among the several Reflections which were thrown upon him, that of Prostitution he easily disprov'd, by the † Chastity of his past and future Behaviour; as also the Imputation of affecting sumptuous Furniture. For at the Taking of \* *Alexandria* he reserv'd to himself only one † *Porphyry Cup* of all the Goods belonging to the King, and melted down the

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† When Corinth was burnt, the Gold, Silver, Copper and other Metals melting, and mingling in one Mass, produc'd a new Species richer than any single Sort which enter'd into the Composition. The Vessels were call'd *Corinthian* from their being made of this Metal.

† See the Note, Page 19.

\* In Egypt, of which Ptolomy was King.

† Of the Nature of our Porcelain.

the Vessels of Gold, tho' they were such as were for constant Use. But the Charge of being frequently concern'd with Women, is what he cou'd never refuse. And in his latter Years, 'tis said, he was most addicted to Deflowring of Virgins, who were provided for him from all Parts, even by his own Wife. And it gave him no manner of Disturbance that he was reported to game; he play'd fairly, and in Publick for his Diversion, even in his old Age; and not only in the Month of \* December, but upon other eminent Festivals. This is past Question; for in a Letter written with his own Hand, *I sup'd, my Tiberius, says he, with that Company. Vinicius and Silvius the Father were also among us. Between the Courses we play'd †† like old Men, both to day and yesterday. For we cast down the Bones, and as there came up one or six, every Person stak'd as many Denaries as there were Spots on each Die; and he won all who happen'd to throw a \* Venus. We were very merry, Tiberius, says he in another Letter, upon Minerva's Festival. For we play'd every day, and stuck close to the Gaming House. Your Brother made wonderful Exclamations; tho' he was no great Loser upon the whole; but recover'd himself, by degrees after several severe Runs, beyond Expectation. I lost for my own Share Twenty Thousand Pieces; but this was chiefly owing to my profuse Liberality at such Times, according to my general Custom. For if I had demanded my Winnings of the Company, or had kept what I freely gave away among them, I shou'd have gone off with Twenty or Fifty Thousand Sesterces. But I chose rather to act as I did: For my Benignity will advance me to Celestial*

\* At this Time Games and Diversions were at their Height; for the Saturnalia were observ'd in this Month; at which, after the Manner of a Modern Carnival, all Ranks of People gave themselves a Loose to Pleasure.

†† i. e. Sitting: For this Game of the Tali was thought too Sedentary for Youth.

\* The highest Cast upon the Die.

*lestial Honours.* And he writes to his Daughter, *I have sent you Two Hundred and fifty Denaries, which Sum I also gave to each of the Guests, to play at Supper-time, if they thought proper, at Dice or at Even and Odd.*

72. In the other Parts of his Life 'tis certain he was very regular, and free from the Suspicion of any Vice. At first he dwelt near the Roman Forum, beyond the Ring-Makers Stairs, in the House which had been *Calvius* the Orator's. He liv'd afterwards on the *Palatine Mount*, in the Apartment of *Hortensius*, which was neither spacious, nor handsomely adorn'd; for the Portico's were low, and built only of \* *Albane Stone*, and the Rooms had no Marble about them, nor any beautiful Flooring. He lay for about forty Years in the same Chamber both in † Winter and Summer, tho' he found the City agreed very ill with his Health, by reason of the continual Foulness of the Weather. If he intended to transact any thing in private without Interruption, he had a secret Apartment at the Top of his House, which he call'd †† *Syracuse* and *Τεχνόπουρον*, or *The Nursery*

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sery

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\* This was dug out of Mount Albanus, and was very soft and common, which made it of little Value.

† The Roman Luxury was then so great, that they had particular Apartments for the different Seasons of the Year; and, in Domitian's Time, they had the Effeminacy to make a Distinction of Winter and Summer Rings:

Ventilet æstivum digitis sudantibus aurum,  
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ.

Juven. Sat. i.

Charg'd with light Summer Rings his Fingers sweat,  
Unable to support a Gem of Weight.

Mr. Dryden.

†† Syracuse was a beautiful City, and stood in an Island; and Augustus, by giving this Name to his Apartment, alluded to the Pleasantness of it, and its being recluse from the rest of the House.



*fery of Arts*, whither he retir'd ; or else he withdrew to the House of one of his Freed-men in the Suburbs. But when he was sick, he us'd to lie at *Mæcenat's* Dwelling. Of all the Places of Recess, he chiefly frequented those which were situated by the Shore, and the Islands of *Campania*, or the Towns near the City ; as *Lanuvium*, *Preneste* and *Tibur*, where he often heard Causes in the Portico's of *Hercules's* Temple. He was extremely against large and costly Country Seats, and even pull'd one down to the Ground, which his Grand-daughter *Julia* had rais'd with great Expence : And his own, which were of a moderate Compass, he adorn'd not so much with Statues and elegant Pictures, as with shelter'd Walks for the Winter, and with Groves, and Things remarkably antique and curious. Thus at \* *Capree* he had the Weapons of celebrated Heroes, and huge Limbs of Sea Monsters and Wild Beasts, which were given out to be the Bones of the † Giants.

73. His Parsimoniousness in his Furniture and Household-stuff is still to be seen, by some of his Beds which are yet remaining, and by his Tables, most of which are scarcely fit for a private Family. The Bed he lay in, they say, was ‡ plac'd on the Ground, and the Covering of it was ordinary ; and he seldom wore any Garments, but what were made by the Hands of his Domesticks, as by his Wife, his Sister, and his Daughter and Grand-daughters. His Gown was neither straight nor flowing, and his Studs neither broad nor narrow. His Shoes were something rais'd, in order to make him seem taller than he was ; and he always had them and his wearing Cloaths

\* *An Island of Campania, the noted Scene of Tiberius's Debaucheries and impious Corruptions.*

† *The Giants which were kill'd, on the Phlegrean Plains in Campania, by Hercules.*

‡ *Not rais'd on a lofty Sted, as the Beds of Princes and great Men among the Antients us'd to be.*

Cloaths ready at hand in his Chamber, for any sudden and unexpected Occasion.

74. He often gave Entertainments, and always with the utmost Exactness and Decency; and was very curious in chusing what Persons, and of what Rank they were to be, whom he treated. *Valerius Messala* says, he never invited any Freed-man, except *Mena*, and him he had before made a Denizon, after his betraying the Fleet of *Sextus Pompey*. He writes himself, that he once invited a Man, at whose Country-House he formerly took up his Lodgings, and who had been one of his Military Scouts. Sometimes he came late to Table, and went away very soon, the Company having begun before he enter'd, and continuing at it some Time after he was gone. His Allowance was three Courses, or six at the most: And tho' his Banquets were not made with extraordinary Sumptuousness, yet they were accompany'd with the Height of Pleasantry, and the utmost Gayety of Humour: For when the Guests were either silent, or talk'd very softly among themselves, he call'd upon them to speak out and use all the Freedom of Conversation; and diverted them with Scenes of Railery, with Players, and the common Dancers and Mimicks of the *Circus*, and often with a Set of squabbling \* Philosophers.

75. Sometimes he celebrated the Festivals and Holidays very richly, and sometimes only in a ludicrous and jocular Manner. At the *Saturnalia*, and whenever else he thought proper, he gave Presents; as Garments, Gold, Silver, and Moneys of every Sort, even the old Coins of the Kings, and foreign  

G 2
Pieces,

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\* *Biggarly Pedants, who us'd to hang upon the Tables of the Rich, and entertain'd them as they were Feasting, with mouting and wrangling at one another about some ridiculous Paradox.*

Pieces, and sometimes only † Hair Cloths, Sponges and Rakes, and a pair of Tongs, and such like Implements, with obscure and ambiguous Sentences upon them. He us'd also to make an Auction among the Guests, of Things of the most unequal Value, and sell them Pictures by the Backside, and while none of them knew what his Purchase would prove; he either deluded, or more than answer'd his Expectation; And every one was oblig'd to come into the Lottery, and take his Share in the Loss or Gain.

76. He was a very sparing Eater, (for I can't omit this Circumstance of him,) and generally fed upon the ordinary Diet. He lov'd chiefly, the common sort of Bread, small Fish, and soft Cheese, and the green Figs which come twice in a Year: He wou'd eat also at any Time before Meals, and in any Place when his Appetite call'd. In one of his Letters he has these Words: *We eat some Bread and small Dates in the Chariot. And, As I came home from the \* Palace, in my Litter, I eat an Ounce of Bread, and a few Muscadine Raisins. Again, No Jew, my Tiberius, ever fasted so strictly on his †† Sabbath, as I have fasted to day; for it was past the \* First Hour of the Night, when I took two Mouthfuls in the Bath, just before they began to || anoint me.* This perfect Indifference of his about his Meals, made him sometimes eat alone before the Banquet began, and after it was over, not having touch'd a Bit while the Vi-  
Etuals were on the Table.

77. He

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† These Presents, and the Inscriptions upon them, had a Satirical Allusion to the Circumstances of the Persons to whom they were given.

\* The Palace of Numa, which stood by Vesta's Temple.

†† The Jews did not fast upon their Weekly Sabbath, but upon some other Days in the Week. But the Romans frequently mistook the Jewish Customs.

\* Seven of the Clock.

|| After they had bath'd, the Romans were anointed with very costly Essences by their Slaves.



77. He was naturally a very small Drinker of Wine. *Cornelius Nepos* says, he never us'd to take above three Glasses at Supper, when he lay in Camp before *Mutina*; and afterwards, when he gave himself the greatest Liberty, he did not exceed a Pint, or if he went farther, he threw it up again. His Favourite Wine was the *Rhetian*, and he seldom drank between Meals: Instead of drinking, he took a piece of Bread soak'd in cold Water, a slice of Cucumber, or some Lettice Leaves, or a green sharp Apple, which had very much the Relish of Wine.

78. After he had eat at Noon, he threw a Covering upon his Feet, and holding his Hand over his Eyes, took a short Repose without pulling off his Cloaths and Shoes. From Supper he retir'd to his Couch in his Study, and continu'd there late till he had set down all or most of the Actions of the Day in his Register. After this he withdrew to Bed: He did not sleep above seven Hours at most, nor this in one continu'd Slumber, but waking three or four times between. If it happen'd, that he cou'd not get to sleep again, when he was disturb'd, he had some call'd in to read or tell Stories to him, who lull'd him into a Drowse which lasted till after Day-break. He never lay awake in the Dark, but he had some body sitting by him; and if he lost his Morning Rest, it always put him out of Order: And when his Affairs, or any Religious Rites call'd him up very early, that his Health might not suffer by it, he us'd to lie down in the Chambers of any of his Domesticks which were next at Hand. Thus when he was heavy to sleep, as they carry'd him thro' the Streets, he often made them set down his \* Litter, and stay while he took a Nap.

G. 3.

79. His..

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\* In Domitian's Time *Juvenal* speaks of the Great Men's sleeping, as they were carry'd thro' the Streets in their Litters.

Atque

79. His Person was very graceful and noble, and extremely amiable thro' the several Degrees of his Age ; tho' he wholly neglected artificial Ornament, and was so careless about trimming his Hair, that he wou'd set several Barbers in haste to work upon it at once ; and sometimes he shav'd, and sometimes only clipt his Beard, and wou'd be either reading or writing all the while. Whether he spoke or was silent, there was such a Sweetness and Serenity in his Countenance, that one of the chief Rulers of the *Gauls* own'd among his Friends, it was this alone which restrain'd him, and made such an Impression on him, that he did not push him down headlong as he was passing over the *Alps*, tho' he had design'd it, when he was suffer'd to come close to him, under a Pretence of saying something in his Ear. His Eyes were bright and lively, and he affected to have it thought there was a certain Divine Vigour in them, and was wonderfully pleas'd if any one, when he look'd earnestly upon him, turn'd down his Eyes to the Ground, as at the Lustre of the Sun. But in his Old Age, his left Eye began to fail. His Teeth were thin set, small, and ragged ; his Hair curl'd a little, and was of a faint Yellow ; his Eye-brows met together, his Ears were little, and his Nose had a Rising at the Top, and grew wider below. His Complexion was between a dark and fair, and his Stature was short (tho' *Julius Marathus*, his Freed-man, asserts of him, that he was five Foot and nine Inches high) however, the Exactness and Proportion of his Limbs so conceal'd it, that it cou'd not be found out but by Comparison, when some taller Person stood by him.

80. His

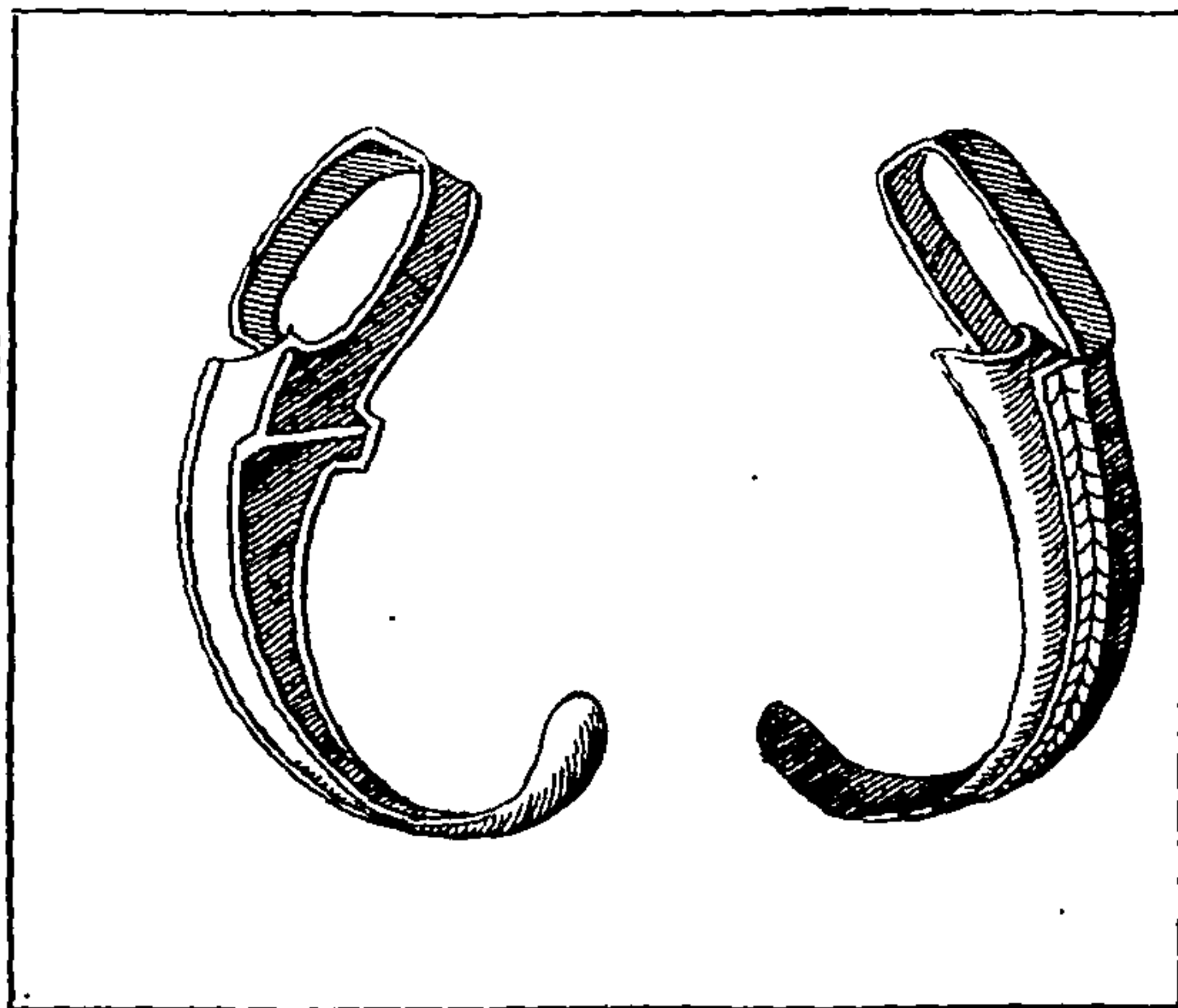
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Atque obliter leget, aut scribet vel dormiet intus,  
Namq; facit somnum clausâ Lectica fenestrâ.

SÆ. 3.

*In lofty Litters borne, they read, and write,  
Or sleep at Ease : The Shutters make it Night.*

Mr. Dryden.



*Strigiles.*



80. 'Tis said, his Body was full of Moles, and that he was born with Marks upon his Breast and Belly, according to the Figure, the Order, and the Number of the Stars in the Constellation of the *Bear*. He had also Callosities, in the Form of a Tetter, occasion'd mostly by the Itching with which he was troubled, and by his continual and violent Use of the † *Strigil*. His Left Hip, Thigh, and Leg were so weak, that he often went lame, but by the Use of warm Sand and of \* Reeds, he was something restor'd. He had also such an Imbecility at times in the Fore-finger of his Right Hand, that when it was numb'd and contracted with Cold, he cou'd scarcely command it by the Help of a Horn-Stall, to write with it. He also complain'd of a Pain in his Bladder, but some small Stones coming away in his Urine, it abated.

81. At several times in his Life, he had severe and dangerous Fits of Sickneſs, particularly after the Conquest of *Cantabria*, when his Liver was touch'd by Defluxions of Rheum, and he was brought into ſo deſperate a Condition, that he was forc'd to enter upon a Method quite contrary, and of a very dubious Iſſue; for hot Fomentations having no Effect,

G 4

he

† *An Instrument of Braſs, and rough on the Inſide, us'd by the Romans in their Bathing to ſcrib off the Filth and Scurff. For the Form ſee the Plate. Auguſtus us'd it ſo much, becauſe he had naturally an itching Humour running about him; and the ſcraping of the Strigil at once gave him Pleaſure, and provok'd the Itching the more, and rais'd Calloſities upon the Skin.*

\* *The Juice of the common Reed was thought very beneficial in ſuch Caſes; for the Root bruis'd with Vinegar, Dioſcorides ſays, is good againſt Pains in the Loins.*

he try'd \* cold by the Advice of *Antonius Musa*. He had some Distempers which were Annual, and return'd at certain Periods : For about the time of his Birth-day, he had Fits of Languishing and Weakness, and at the beginning of the Spring he was troubled with an Inflation of the Midriff, and in a South Wind with a Stoppage in his Head ; and this broke him so, that he could not well bear either Heat or Cold.

S2. He wore four Tanicks and a thick Gown, an inner Coat, a Flannel Stomacher, and Swathings on his Thighs and Legs in the Winter ; but in Summer he lay with his Chamber Doors open, and frequently in a Portico with Waters playing round him, and some body standing by to fan him. He cou'd not endure even the Winter Sun, and never walk'd abroad in the open Air, but with a broad Bonnet on his Head. He travell'd generally in his Litter and by Night, and made very short, and easy Stages, so that he was two Days in going to † *Preneste* or *Tibur* : But if he could go by Sea, he chose it rather. He took the utmost Care of his crazy Constitution ; in particular, he †† bath'd very seldom, and was often anointed, and sweat by a Stove ; after which he was wash'd in Water heated over the Fire, or made warm in the Sun : And whenever, upon the account of his Nerves, he was to use the Sea-Water, or the hot Waters of *Albulæ*, he went no farther than to sit  
on

\* *The Romans all us'd the Hot Bath excessively ; but Musa, the Physician, had a wonderful Opinion of the Cold, and generally prescrib'd it. He order'd it for Augustus's Son Marcellus, and according to Dio Cassius, it was the Cause of his Death : For it was so contrary to the general Custom, that People were extremely prejudic'd against it, and thought it exceeding hazardous.*

† *Much about Eight Miles in a Day.*

†† *Augustus's Illness was upon his Nerves, in which Cases Bathing is esteem'd prejudicial.*

on a Wooden Bench, which he call'd by a Spanish Name *Dureta*, and dip in his Hands and Feet by turns.

83. Immediately after the Civil Wars, he laid down the Exercises in the *Campus Martius*, of Riding and Arms, and took up first that of the Ball and the Battoon; and afterwards all the Diversion he us'd, was to walk, or to be carried from place to place; yet toward the end of his Stage, he wou'd alight, and fetch a Run, and take several Jumps, cover'd only with a Linnen Cloth, or with a Flannel. Sometimes, to unbend his Mind, he wou'd fish with an Angle, or play at Cockall, at Peach-Stones or Cob-Nut with little \* Boys, collecting such as had beautiful Faces and prattled much, from all Parts, especially from † *Mauritania* and *Syria*: But those who were Dwarfs, and distorted, or had any Defect, he abhor'd as the Sport of Nature, and as of an ill ‡ Omen.

G 5

84. He

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\* The keeping of beautiful Boys was an eminent Part of Luxury and State with the Antients, and was often attended with a Criminal Passion. It was imputed to the Gods themselves; for Jupiter had his Ganymede, whom his Eagle brought off to him as he was hunting by Mount Ida.

*Intextusq; puer frondosa regius Ida, &c.*

*Æn. 5.*

There Ganymede was wrought, with living Art,  
Chasing thro' Ida's Groves the trembling Hart;  
Breathless he seems, yet eager to pursue;  
When from aloft descends in open View  
The Bird of Jove, and sousing on his Prey,  
With crook'd Talons bears the Boy away.

Mr. Dryden.

† The Romans were most fond of the Boys of those Countries.

‡ Agreeably to the Superstition of the Antients, with whom almost every Thing was ominous.



84. He \* study'd Eloquence and the Liberal Arts from his Childhood with the utmost Application and Pleasure. In the War of *Mutina*, when he had such a World of important Affairs upon him, he is said to have read, and wrote, and declaim'd every Day. And after this, he never spoke in the Senate, or to the People, or the Soldiers, but he consider'd and drew up his Speech before-hand, tho' he did not want a Faculty of expressing himself *Extempore* upon any sudden Occasion. And lest he shou'd be in danger of committing some Slips of Memory, or shou'd spend too much Time in learning his Speeches by Heart, he made it a Custom to read them all from his Notes. He spoke his † Discourse also with any Person, and even his Conversations upon Matters of Consequence with *Livia*, from his Table-Book, that he might not by speaking unpremeditatedly, say either too much or too little. He pronounc'd with a pleasing and just Tone of Voice, and was continually taking Pains to form his Modulation by the Instructions of a Master. But sometimes, when his Throat was disorder'd, the Crier rehears'd his Oration to the People.

85. He

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\* *Tho' Augustus was more happy than his Uncle Julius in the Arts of Civil Government, yet in Arms and Letters, 'tis certain, his Uncle was vastly his Superiour. For Augustus was no extraordinary Writer, and was at Bottom a Coward. And perhaps it is well for his Reputation, as an Author, that his Commentaries of his own Life are lost, that they may not be compar'd with Cæsar's.*

† *This must be understood only of Directions and general Answers about Affairs of Business, and not of a free Conversation among Friends, which Augustus took a Pleasure to encourage, for that wou'd have been impracticable under such a Constraint.*

85. He compos'd several things in Prose upon various Subjects, and † recited some of them to an Assembly of familiar Friends as before an Audience; such was his *Answer to Brutus concerning Cato*. Having read over a great Part of these Compositions, when he was old, and growing weary, he gave them to *Tiberius* to go on and read them thro'. He also wrote *Exhortations to Philosophy*, and *Memorials of his own Life*, which he continu'd, in Thirteen Books, to the *Cantabrian War*, and no farther. He made some light Excursions in Poetry. There is extant a Volume of his written in *Hexameter Verse*, the Argument and Title of which is *Sicilia*; also another small Book of *Epigrams*, most of which he wrote at the time of Bathing. Having begun a Tragedy with great Sublimity and Vigour, and not succeeding in it to his Satisfaction, he struck it out; and his Friends asking him what was become of his *Ajax*, My *Ajax*, says he, *has †† fallen on a Sponge*.

86. He

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\* It was a Custom with the Roman Authors, to rehearse their Works in Prose or Verse before a Publick Audience. They generally did it in the Hall of some great Man's House, who gave them the Liberty of it upon such an Occasion. Thus Juvenal,

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— at si dulcedine famæ  
Succensus recites, Macutonus commodat ædes,  
Æc longe ferrata domus servire jubetur, &c.

Sat. 7.

But if to Fame alone thou dost pretend,  
The Miser will his empty Palace lend,  
Set wide his Doors, adorn'd with plated Brass,  
Where Doves as at a City-Gate may pass;  
A spacious Hall afford thee to rehearse,  
And send his Clients to applaud thy Verse.

Mr. Charles Dryden.

†† Ajax fell upon his own Sword, and kill'd himself; and Augustus alludes to this in his *Answer*.

86. He endeavour'd to obtain a Style elegant and correct; avoiding all Improproprieties and Trifles, and the Rankness, as he us'd to call it, of Words that smell'd too strong of Antiquity. It was his principal Care to express his Meaning as clearly as possible; and to effect this the more easily, and neither to perplex nor suspend the Apprehension of the Reader, or Hearers, he never made a Scruple of adding Prepositions to Verbs, or of repeating the Conjunctions; the Suppression of which is apt to occasion some Obscurity, tho' it increases the Beauty of the Sentence. Those who us'd an affected and unnatural Style, or obsolete Words, he held equally in Contempt, as being both faulty, tho' in a different Way. He was sometimes very severe upon his intimate Friend *Mecenas*, perpetually playing upon his *mugger's*, \* *his sweet scented Curls*, as he call'd them, and rallying him by a facetious Imitation of his Manner of Expression. Nor did he spare even *Tiberius* for his hawking after Words antiquated and uncommon. He exposes *Mark Anthony*, as a Mad-Man, for writing what was rather to be †† admir'd than understood; and joking upon his Inconstancy and want of Judgment in the Choice of his Style, *You are in doubt then*, says he, *whether you shou'd copy after Cimper Annius, or Viranius Flaccus: Whether you shou'd use the Words which Sallust has taken from the † Origines of Cato, or rather translate into our Language the Volubility in the empty Periods of the || Asiatick Ora-*

tors.

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\* i. e. The affected Niceness of his Expressions.

†† The same that *Æschines* said of some Parts of *Demostenes's* Orations, that they were *δεινὰ καὶ οὐ πρὸς λόγον*, not Words, but Prodigies. Perhaps *Augustus* borrow'd it from him.

† Cato Major, from whom *Sallust* is said to have taken several antiquated Words he uses in his History.

| The Sentences of the Asiatick Writers were smooth and flowing, and full of Words; but their Sense was low and barren.



sors. And commending the quick Parts of his Grand-Daughter in one of his Letters, *But it is necessary* says he, *that you observe to write, or speak, so as to be understood without Trouble.*

87. It appears by his Letters written with his own Hand, that he had several remarkable Sayings, which he us'd frequently in his common Discourse. Thus, when he wou'd signify that such or such Persons wou'd never pay their Debts, *Those Gentlemen, will pay at the \* Greek Kalends.* And advising People to be satisfy'd with the present Circumstances whatever they were, *Let us be content,* he wou'd say, *with this † Cato.* And to express the Celerity of any Action, *It was done before you cou'd boil an Asparagus.* He generally us'd *baccolum* for *stultus*, and *pulejaceum* for *pullus*; *vacerrosus* for *ceritus*; *vapide sese habere* for *male*, and *betiffare* for *languere*, the vulgar Word for which is *lachaniffare*; also *simus* for *sumus*, and *domos*, in the Genitive Case singular, for *domus*: And these two Words he never wrote otherwise, that it might not be thought a Mistake in him, rather than a Custom. What I particularly observe in his Hand-Writing, was, that he did not divide his Words, nor carry forward the Letters which cou'd not be brought in at the End of a Line to the Beginning of the next, but \*\* set them down below and hook'd them in.

88. He

\* *The Romans call'd the First Day of every Month the Kalends; and the Greeks not giving it that Name, had consequently no Kalends.*

† *Cato was a Man of such celebrated Vertue with the Romans, that he was look'd on as a Standard: And the Meaning of this Saying is, That if we can't have Persons virtuous in so high a Degree, we shou'd be content with having them as good as we can.*

\*\* *Thus, May I be able to bring the Republick in a prosperous and well-establish'd Condition. (to*

88. He was not very scrupulous in following the Orthography, that is, the Forms and Rules of Writing instituted by Grammarians; and seem'd rather to have been of their Opinion, who think we ought to write as we speak. That he often chang'd or omitted not only Letters, but Syllables also, is a popular Error: Nor shou'd I have taken Notice of it, if I had not thought it very strange, that some have reported, he once displac'd a Consular Governour, for an illiterate Fellow, because he catch'd him writing *ixi* instead of *ipsi*. Whenever he wrote in Characters, he put *† b* for *a*, *c* for *b*, and the other Letters in the same Manner; and for *x* he us'd a double *an*.

89. Nor was he less strongly inclin'd to the \* Grecian Learning, in which he made a considerable Progress

*† Julius Cæsar's Method was to transpose every fourth Letter, and write d for a, &c. See pag. 35.*

\* Greece was the Fountain of Learning to the Romans, who deriv'd their Philosophy and the Liberal Arts from thence. The Schools in each Kind were also generally held by Grecian Masters, who were esteem'd the ablest Teachers in every Science. Thus Virgil ingenuously confesses the Merit of his Country-Men, did not lie in Literature and the polite Accomplishments of Life, but in Vertues of an Imperial and Martial Nature.

*Excudent alii-spirantia-mollius æra, &c.*

*Æn. 6.*

*Let others better mould the running Mass  
Of Metals, and inform the breathing Brass,  
Plead better at the Bar; describe the Skies,  
And when the Stars descend, and when they rise:  
But Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful Sway,  
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey,  
Disposing Peace and War thy own Majestick Way:  
To tame the Proud, the fetter'd Slave to free;  
These are Imperial Arts, and worthy Thee.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

Progress, having ~~†† Apollodorus Pergamentus~~ for his Master in Rhetorick, whom he took along with him in his Old Age, while he was himself a Youth, from the City to *Apollonia*. Being well instructed in the various Learning of \* *Sphærus*, he form'd a close Society with *Arcus*, the Philosopher, and his Sons *Didymus* and *Nicanor*; yet he wou'd not adventure to speak or compose readily in \* *Greek*; but whenever he had Occasion, he drew up his Thoughts in *Latin*, and gave the Paper to some to translate it into *Greek*. He certainly was not unskill'd in Poetry, and was delighted with the || *Old Comedy*, and had

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†† *A Celebrated Orator of Pergamus in Greece.*

\* *A Freed-man of Augustus and his Pedagogue. Upon his Death Augustus gave him a publick Funeral.*

\* *The Greek became the fashionable Language with the Romans, as French is now with us. Cicero was so extremely fond of it, that he has sprinkl'd it very liberally thro' his familiar Letters: And the Women at last ran into such an Affectation of it, that they scarcely spoke any other.*

---

omnia Græce,  
Cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.  
Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,  
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, &c.  
Juv. Sat. 6.

*In Greece their whole Accomplishments they seek;  
Their Fashion, Breeding, Language must be Greek:  
But raw in all that do's to Rome belong,  
They scorn to cultivate their Mother-Tongue.  
In Greek they flatter, all their Fears they speak,  
Tell all their Secrets, nay, they scold in Greek.*

Mr. Dryden.

|| *Form'd after the Manner of the Vetus Comœdia of the Greeks, in which Persons were introduc'd by their real Names, and their Characters treated at the Pleasure of the Poet. Such is Aristophanes's Comedy of the Clouds, where Socrates is brought in and expos'd by Name.*



had it often acted at the Publick Shews. In reading over the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, what he principally remark'd was, the Precepts and Examples which might be of Use in publick or private Life. He transferib'd them verbally, and sent them to his Domesticks, or to the Commanders of the Armies and Provinces, or the Magistrates of the City, as he thought they might stand in need of Advice. He also recited some whole Books to the Senate, and had them publish'd among the People; as the Oration of *Q. Metellus*, \* *Concerning the Increasing of Offspring*; and of *Rutilius*, *Concerning the Manner of Building*, the better to convince them, that he was not the first Mover in both those Matters; but that their Ancestors had long since had them under their Care. He gave all manner of Encouragement to the Ingenious Men of his Age; hearing them, with a World of Good-Nature and Patience, † recite their Works; not only Poems and Histories, but Oration also and Dialogues. Yet he was displeas'd if any Thing was written about himself, unless it were seriously, and by the most eminent Hands; and charg'd the Pretors

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\* *Augustus* recited these Oration, and publish'd them at the Time when he was endeavouring to oblige the several Orders to marry, and undertook to adorn the City. See pag. 81, 86. *Metellus*, when he was Censor, had requir'd all Degrees to marry, in order to multiply the People. His Oration was to persuade the Romans to comply with this Law, and convince them of the Advantages of it to the Common-Wealth. *Augustus* meeting with great Difficulties in pursuing the same Design, from the Licentious Customs which had been introduc'd, and the Expensiveness of his other Attempt, to regulate the Buildings and make them more beautiful and commodious, probably occasioning also a strong Opposition; he found it necessary to produce these Precedents of former Magistrates, to support his Practice in both Particulars.

† See the Note, pag. 131.

Pretors not to suffer his Name to be dishonour'd in the Disputations on the Theatre.

90. Concerning Religious Accidents, his Character is thus represented. He was so weakly afraid of Thunder and Lightning, that he perpetually carry'd a \* Seal-Skin about with him in every Place, as a Protection : And whenever he was apprehensive of a violent Storm, he retir'd to some || Arched Cellar or Vault, having, as is related above, been formerly put into a terrible Consternation by a Flash of Lightning, as he was travelling in the Night.

91. He never slighted either his own Dreams, or those of others concerning himself. At the Battel of *Philippæ*, tho' he had resolv'd not to go out of his Tent because of his Indisposition, yet being warn'd by a Dream of one of his Friends; he went forth : And it happen'd very well that he did ; for his Camp was taken, and a Multitude of the Enemy rush'd into his Pavilion, and stab'd his Bed thro' and thro', as if he had been lying in it. In the Spring he had always a great many Dreams, and very frightful, vain and trifling ; the rest of the Year he had fewer and more important. Having constantly frequented the Fane dedicated to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, he dream'd that *Jupiter † Capitolinus* complain'd his Worship-  
pers

\* From an absurd Opinion, that there was a Virtue in it to secure from the Blast of Lightning. The Antients had the same Fancy concerning Laurel ; and such is the senseless Conceit with us, that the Huckle-bone of a Sheep will prevent the Cramp.

|| In such Places he was more out of the Noise of the Thunder, and more secure from the Shock ; an Arch being the firmest Building.

† His Temple stood in the Capitol : Augustus also built there a small Fane, in manner of a Chapel to the Thunderer ; to which the People it seems, after his Example, mostly resorted. In his Sleep he imagin'd *Capitolinus*,  
who

pers. were drawn off from him, and that he answer'd he had plac'd the *Thunderer* by him for a Janitor; and immediately upon this he hung the Roof of the \* Fane with the little Bells which are usually hung in Portals. Being admonish'd also by a nocturnal Vision, he us'd upon a certain Day in every Year to † beg Money of the People, and held out his Hand open to receive the Pieces they gave him.

92. He look'd upon \* Auspices and Omens as of an infallible Signification. If his Shoes were put on wrong in the Morning, the left before the right, he thought it an ill Presage. When he was undertaking any Voyage or Journey of Length, if it happen'd to mizzle, he esteem'd it a good Token of a quick and happy Return. He was principally affected with unusual Sights. He transplanted a Palm-Tree, which shot out between the joining of the Stones before his House, into the Space by the Repository

*who was Lord in chief of the Scil, complain'd that his Worshipers fell off from him to this new Corner, the Thunderer; and to excuse the Matter, he reply'd, he was so far from designing him any Disrespect or Prejudice, by erecting the Thunderer a little Fane just beside his Temple, that he intended him an Honour by it, and plac'd the Thunderer there, as his Servant, to look to his Gates. Accordingly, when he wak'd, he hung the Roof of the Thunderer's Fane with such Bells, as were fasten'd in the Portals of Great Men's Houses. For the Janitors kept Watch there by Night, and upon any Alarm struck the Bell, which gave the Signal to the rest, and rais'd the Neighbourhood.*

\* Of Jupiter the Thunderer, who was to strike them for an Alarm, if any Danger threaten'd the Temple of Capitolinus.

† A piece of voluntary Humiliation to deprecate the Anger of the Gods.

\* Auspices were Observations taken from the Notes, Flights and Feeding of Birds. Omens were taken from any Words or Accidents.



pository of the Household Gods which was left to receive the Rain, and us'd a world of Care, that it might take root there and flourish. It was such a Joy to him, that at his Arrival in the Island || *Caprea*; the Branches of an old dodder'd Oak, which were wither'd and hung down to the Ground, reviv'd anew, that he gave the Republick of *Naples* the Island † *Ænaria* in Exchange for the other. He also observ'd several Days; for he wou'd never begin a Journey the Day after the \* *Nundinae*, and take any weighty Affair in hand upon the † *Nones*. All that he design'd to avoid by this was, as he writes to *Tiberius*, the ominous Meaning of the Name.

93. As he very reverently observ'd the Ceremonies of Foreign Nations, which were antient and were †† ordain'd by the Laws, so he despis'd the rest. For  
being

|| Afterwards famous for *Tiberius's Retreat*. See his *Life*, § 40.

† An Island in the Italian Sea, South-West of *Naples*. It was also call'd *Inarine*, and now *Ischia*.

\* The *Nundinae* were every Ninth Day in the Roman *Kalendar*; upon them the Country People repair'd to *Rome*, and held a publick Market or Fair of all Commodities.

† The Ninth Day before the *Ides*, which were about the Middle of the Month.

†† It was a Custom with the Romans to adopt into the Number of their Deities, the Gods of the Nations they conquer'd; but not the foreign Rites of Worship, which they generally despis'd. By adopting the Gods they imagin'd, they transferr'd their Protection and Favour from the People to whom they originally belong'd, to them selves; for they interpreted their gaining the Victory, as a Token that the Gods had abandon'd the Inhabitants of the Place, and declar'd in their Behalf.

being initiated at *Athens* in the || *Eleusian Rites*, and sitting in Court afterwards at *Rome*, upon the Privilege of the Priests of *Ceres* of *Attica*, when some of the more secret Parts of the Mysteries came to be mention'd in the Pleading, he sent off the Assessors, and those who stood by, and heard the Debate alone. Yet on the other Hand, he not only forbore to turn a little out of his Way when he went thro' *Ægypt*, to visit their † *Apis*, but commended his Grandson *Caius*, that in his Passage thro' *Judea* he had not made any \* Supplications at *Jerusalem*.

94. And

|| Ceremonies perform'd at *Eleusis*, near *Athens*, in Commemoration of *Ceres's* finding her Daughter after *Pluto* had stolen her away. They were some of the most solemn and mysterious in the Pagan Superstition; and those who sought to be initiated into them, were prepar'd for so extraordinary a Favour by a long Probation, and had the Rites imparted to them by Degrees, which they were under the most Religious Obligation not to disclose: Hence *Augustus* clears the Court, when some Particulars of these Ceremonies came to be mention'd in the Course of the Trial.

† The *Ægyptian God*. It was an Ox with a black Body, a square Spot of white on the Forehead, the Figure of an Eagle on the Back, and of a Snail or Beetle on the Tongue, and the Hairs of the Tail were double.

\* i. e. He had not worship'd at *Jerusalem* after the Jewish Rites. For as the Romans, according to a former Note, were apt to condemn the Religious Rites of other Nations, so they had a particular Aversion to the Jews. This Prejudice might be occasion'd by the sullen Temper of the Jews, who superciliously shun'd all Conversation with the Gentiles, by their Proneness to rebel against the Roman Governors, and by the direct Opposition of their Religion to the Idolatries and Corruptions of the Pagan Worship. This Circumstance is the more remarkable in *Augustus*, because *Philo* and *Josephus* represent him as well affected to the Jews, and even contributing to their Sacrifices.

94. And since I am upon this Subject, it may not be improper to add the Circumstances which † occur'd before his Birth, and on the Day of his Nativity and afterwards, by which his future Greatness and perpetual Felicity were plainly intimated and promis'd. Part of the Wall at *Velitræ* being struck down by Lightning, the Soothsayers answer'd, a Citizen of that Town shou'd one Day enjoy the Dominion of the World ; in Confidence of which the *Velitrians*, both at the time and frequently afterwards, push'd on a War with the *Romans*, till they were almost ruin'd ; at last it evidently appear'd, the Omen portended the Power of *Augustus*. *Julius Marathus* says, that a few Months before he was born, a Prodigy happen'd publickly at *Rome*, which declar'd,\* Nature was in Travail with a Prince for the *Roman* People ; at which the Senate was so allarm'd, that they order'd no Male Child, born in the same Year, shou'd be brought up ; and that all whose Wives were pregnant, which gave them Hopes of the Prediction's happening to themselves,

en-

† *Suetonius's Words are, Quæ ei prius, quam nasceretur, evenerint, The Things which happen'd to him before he was born ; which seems to be no very proper Expression.*

\* *The whole World was at this Time in a general Expectation of the Appearance of some extraordinary Person, who shou'd possess an Universal Dominion. The Tradition plainly arose from the Prophecies in the Holy Scripture concerning the Messiah, of which the Gentiles had obtain'd some Knowledge from the Jews in their Dispersions. And the Roman Historians, who endeavour'd to expound it of a Prince of their own, declare it was an antient and constant Opinion, that some one shou'd arise in Judæa, and rule over the whole World. And Tacitus says expressly, this Persuasion was contain'd in the Sacred Records of the Jewish Priests. See Tacit. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 13. and Suet. Vesp. § 4.*



endeavour'd to prevent the Decree's being \* enroll'd in the Treasury. In the Treatise of *Asclepias* concerning the Gods worship'd at † *Mendes*, I have read, that *Atia*, having attended at the Solemnities of *Apollo* by Mid-Night, and setting her Chair down in the Temple, fell into a sound Sleep while the other Matrons were slumbering, and that a †† Dragon crept to her privately, and shortly after withdrew, and awaking she purify'd herself as from the Embraces of her Husband, and immediately a Spot appear'd in her Body, like the Picture of a Dragon, and cou'd never be wip'd out; insomuch that upon this she always abstain'd from the Publick Baths; and that at the end of ten Months *Augustus* was born, and was for this Reason esteem'd the Son of *Apollo*. Before the Birth, the same *Atia* also dream'd, her Bowels were carry'd up to the Stars, and extended †† thro' the whole Circuit of the Earth and Heaven.

And

\* Because if they cou'd prevent this Inrollment, it was no Law, and they were not bound to obey it. This Inrollment is mention'd Page 17.

† A City in *Ægypt*, where they worshipp'd a Goat, and prostituted to him the most beautiful Women, provoking the Beast, by wicked Arts, to the unnatural Mixture. *Asclepias* was a Native of the Place, and wrote his Treatise in Vindication of this prodigious Practice.

†† The same Fable as is reported concerning *Alexander the Great*, who was said to be begotten by *Jupiter*, who visited his Mother *Olympia* in the Form of a Dragon. It was a common Artifice and known Piece of Flattery, to deduce the Descent of Princes and Great Men from the Gods. Thus *Aeneas*, from whom the *Julian Family* affected to derive themselves, is represented to be the Son of *Venus* by *Anchises*.

†† To foreshew, that the Child which proceeded from his Bowels shou'd obtain the Dominion of the whole Earth, and finally be assum'd to Heaven among the Gods.

And his Father *Octavius* dream'd, a || Sun-beam darted out from *Atia's* Womb. The Day when he was born, *Cataline's* Conspiracy being then under Debate in the House, and *Octavius*, on Occasion of his Wife's Travail, coming late to the Senate, every one has heard, that \* *Nigidius*, when he understood the Reason of his Stay, and knew the Hour of the Delivery, pronounc'd the Lord of the World was born. And *Octavius* afterwards marching his Army thro' the Wilds of *Thrace*, and consulting the Oracle in the Grove of † *Liber Pater* according to the Barbarians Ceremonies, about his Son, the Priests return'd him the same Answer, for when the Wine was pour'd upon the Altar, such a Body of \* Flame arose, as shot up beyond the Roof of the Temple and reach'd quite to Heaven; a Portent which

|| *A Symbol that Augustus was begotten by Apollo, who was the Sun.*

\* *He was a Senator and a celebrated Astrologer, and understanding the Horoscope of Augustus, undertook to foretell his future Greatness, or rather having been conversant in the most remarkable Prophecies, which were then known, he apply'd to Augustus the Prediction mention'd in the Note, p. 141.*

† *Bacchus, whom the Romans call'd Liber Pater, possibly, because Wine sets Men free from Cares and Sorrow. He had several Names among different Nations. The great Bochart, in his Phaleg, makes him to be the same as Nimrod, and derives the Name Bacchus from Barchus, the Son of Chus; and Vossius has very learnedly shewn the Similitude between the Accounts of Bacchus and the History of Moses.*

\* *It appears that they affected to make Augustus resemble Alexander the Great in several Circumstances, representing him as begotten by a God in the Form of a Dragon, and as born to Universal Empire. This Portent of the Flames, and the Vision of Octavius in the next Sentence, must be understood as Indications of the Glory and Dominion of Augustus, and his future Divinity.*

which had never happen'd to any but to *Alexander the Great*, when he was sacrificing at the same Altar. The next Night also he thought he saw his Son of a Stature more than Human, arm'd with a Thunder-bolt and Sceptre, and clad in the Vests of *Jupiter Supreme*, wearing a Radiant Crown, and sitting in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by twice six Horses of an extraordinary Whiteness. While he was yet an Infant, as †† *Caius Drusus* writes, being laid one Evening into the Cradle by the Nurse upon a lower Floor, they miss'd him the next Morning, and after a long Search, he was found in a very high Tower, lying directly against the Rising Sun. As soon as he began to speak, he commanded the Frogs which happen'd to make a loud Noise near his Patrimonial Seat in the Country, to be silent; from which Time, 'tis said, the Frogs never croak there. As he was eating about four Miles from the City, in the *Campanian Road*, an Eagle suddenly snatch'd the Bread out of his Hand, and soaring aloft, came down again unexpectedly with a gentle Descent and return'd it to him.\* *Quintus Catulus*, after the Dedication of the Capitol, dream'd for two Nights successively, in the first that a Company of Noble Boys playing round the Altar, *Jupiter Supreme* singled out one, and put the Seal of the Republick which

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†† The Son of Tiberius, who, according to Rychius, mention'd this in the Funeral Oration he made upon Augustus, § 101. This Event may signifie, perhaps, the Advancement of Augustus, which is intimated by his being carry'd up from a Ground-Room to the Top of a lofty Tower, and by his facing the Rising Sun, which is an Emblem of Exaltation: The last Circumstance may also respect the Fancy of his being the Son of Apollo, or the Sun.

\* The same Catulus whom Julius Cæsar (Pag. 8.) turn'd out of his Office. He finish'd the Rebuilding of the Capitol after it was burnt, and dedicated it, by which he had the Honour of having his Name inscrib'd on the Top of the Capitol: Cæsar raz'd it, and plac'd his own in its stead.



which he held in his Hand, into his Bosom, and the next Night, that he observ'd the same Boy in the Lap of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and when he would have commanded him to be taken away, the God forbid it, and order'd him to let him alone, as one who was to be educated for the Preservation of the Republick: And the Day following, meeting *Augustus*, who was unknown to him at the Time, he look'd on him with Admiration, and protested he was exactly like the Child of whom he had dream'd. Others relate the first Dream of *Catulus* in a different Manner; as, That several Noble Children having ask'd a Tutor of *Jupiter*, he pointed out to them one of their Number, who deserv'd to be the Object of all their Desires; and that he \* brought back his Hand when the Youngster had saluted it, and so apply'd the Kiss to his Mouth. *Marcus Cicero*, as he was following *Julius Cæsar* to the Capitol, happen'd to tell his Friends a Dream he had the Night before, That a Boy of a Noble Aspect was let down from Heaven in a Golden Chain, and stood at the Door of the Capitol, and that *Jupiter* deliver'd to him a † Scourge; and seeing *Augustus* afterwards on a sudden, who was known by Face to very few, and was then sent for by his Uncle *Cæsar* to come to the Sacrifices, he affirm'd him to be the same Child whose Resemblance had appear'd to him in his Sleep. As he was putting on his Virile Gown, his Tunick with the †† *Lati Clavi*,  
H which

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\* A Form of Salutation, by which they seem'd to convey the Kiss to their Mouth.

† It being the Privilege of a Roman Citizen, not to be beaten with Rods or a Scourge, this Ceremony intimated that *Augustus* shou'd subvert the antient Rights and Liberties, and become an absolute Prince.

†† It is greatly disputed among the Learned, what the *Lati Clavi* were. Some make them to be Bosses like the Head of a Nail, for buttoning the Garment; others say, they were Purple or Golden Lines, which ran along the  
Middle

which was open at the Sides, fell down at his Feet ; and some interpreted it to signify, that the \* Order of which that Habit was a Badge, shou'd one day be subjected to him. And *Julius Cæsar* having mark'd out the Ground for a Camp at *Munda*, as they were felling a Wood there, he found a † Palm-tree, and commanded them to leave it standing, as an Omen of Victory ; out of this a Shoot immediately arose, and grew so much in a few Days, that it not only equall'd, but even over-shaded the main Tree, and Flocks of ‡ Doves built their Nests in the Boughs, tho' that Kind of Birds particularly avoid a hard and prickly Leaf. And this Portent, they say, chiefly induc'd *Cæsar* to desire no one shou'd succeed him but his Sister's Nephew. In his Recess at *Apolonia*, going with *Agrippa* into the Study of *Theogenes* the

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*Middle of the Garment ; and others, that they were a Bordering of Purple. See Rubenius de Re vestiariâ, Dacier, and Grævius.*

\* *The Senators, to whom this Habit was peculiar, as appears by this Expression in the Life of Julius Cæsar,—latum Clavum sumserunt, to signify the Gauls becoming Senators.*

† *It was usual for Conquerors to carry Branches of Palm in their Hands ; for Palm was a Symbol of Victory, because it makes its Way thro' all Resistance, and surmounts any Pressures which are laid upon it.*

‡ *The Birds of Venus, from whom the Julian Family claim'd their Descent. They are an Omen of Royalty, according to Servius, because they are never alone, as Kings are never without Attendants. And the Sense of this Portent seems to be, That Julius Cæsar shou'd be a Conqueror, as he was over Pompey, and that from his Stem one shou'd arise, who shou'd far exceed him in Success and Greatness ; which was fulfill'd in Augustus.*

## OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS

the †† Astrologer, which was in an upper Room, when great Things, and almost incredible were foretold to *Agrippa*, who consulted the Artist first. *Augustus* conceal'd his Nativity, and refus'd to discover it, out of Fear and Shame lest it should prove to be inferior to the other's: And being after a world of Intreaties, hardly drawn to declare it, *Theogenes* started up from his Seat, and worshipp'd him. Upon this, *Augustus* was so confident of his Fate, that he \* publish'd the Configuration of the Heavens at his Birth,

H 2

Birth,

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†† *Theogenes Mathematicus*, for the Romans call'd them *Mathematici*, who calculated Nativities, and told Fortunes from the Configuration and Aspect of the Stars; and their infinite Superstition gave them a wonderful Opinion of these *Noſterdamus's*, whom they consulted with a great Veneration. They were generally Foreigners, for the Romans themselves were scandalously ignorant in Natural Philosophy; and the Chaldeans, who are said to have invented Astrology, were in most Esteem.

Chaldæis sed major fiducia. Quicquid  
Dixerit Astrologus, credent à fronte relatum  
Ammonis, &c.

Juv. Sat. 6.

More Credit yet, is to Chaldeans giv'n;  
What they foretell, is deem'd the Voice of Heav'n:  
Their Answers as from Hammon's Altar come,  
Since now the Delphian Oracles are dumb:  
And Mankind, ignorant of future Fate,  
Believes what fond Astrologers relate.

Mr. Dryden.

\* Before *Theogenes* had given his Judgment upon it, *Augustus* was afraid to let his Horoscope be known, lest the Masters in the Art should pronounce it inauspicious: But when he saw it was so very fortunate, he chose to make it publick, because it might strike an Impression on the Minds of the People, and prepossess them in his Favour.



Birth, and struck Silver Medals with the Constellation of † Capricorn, under which he was born.

95. Returning from *Apollonia* after the Murder of *Cæsar*, and entering into the City, the Day became on a sudden very serene and clear, and a \* Circle in the Form of a Rainbow encompass'd the Body of the Sun; and presently the †† Monument of *Julia*, the Daughter of *Julius Cæsar*, was struck with Lightning. As he was expecting an || Augury at his standing for his first Consulship, twelve Vultures appear'd

† Scaliger and Petavius justly affirm it to be impossible that Augustus, who was born in September, at which Time the Sun enters the Sign of Libra, could have Capricorn for his Horoscope. Virgil, when he is considering which of the Celestial Houses Augustus shou'd chuse for his Habitation, proposes to place him by Libra, or the Balance, between Scorpio and Virgo, under the last of which Virgil himself was born.

Ante novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas;  
Qua locus Erigonem inter Chelaisq; sequenteis  
Panditur, &c. *Geor.* 1.

Or wilt thou bless our Summers with thy Rays,  
And, seated near the Ballance, poize the Days;  
Where in the Void of Heav'n a Place is free,  
Betwixt the Scorpion and the Maid, for thee.  
Mr. Dryden.

\* Some have expounded this to signify the Tumults and Confusions which succeeded; such Circles, according to them, presignifying Publick Troubles.

†† This may be interpreted, that the immediate Line of *Julius Cæsar* shou'd fail and give place to Augustus, who was his Son by Adoption.

|| It was a Custom for the Candidates, the Night before the Election, to place themselves in the open Air, and watch for some Omen or Signal, by which they prejudg'd what Success they shou'd have the next Day.

pear'd to him, as they had done to *Romulus*. And the Livers of all the Victims, as he was sacrificing, were observ'd to be double on the Inside, at the Bottom. Nor did such as were skill'd in Things of this Nature, make any other Construction of these Circumstances, than that they portended very great and happy Events.

96. He had also a certain Intimation of the Success of all his Wars, beforehand. When the Forces of the \* *Triumviri* were drawn together at *Bononia*, an Eagle sitting upon his Pavilion, persecuted two † Crows which assail'd him from this Side and the other, and beat them down to the Ground: Upon which it was the Observation of the whole Army, that such a Difference wou'd one time arise between the Collegues, as afterwards happen'd; and they even presag'd the final Issue of the Quarrel. At *Philippi* a certain *Thessalian* foretold him of the following Victory, which he was appris'd of by *Julius Cæsar*, who had appear'd to him in a private Road. Near *Perusia*, the first Sacrifice not succeeding, he commanded the Victims to be \* multiply'd; when the Enemy making a sudden Salley, and carrying off with them all the Preparation for the Solemnity, the Soothsayers agreed, that all the Mischiefs and Dangers which wou'd have been denounc'd to the Sacri-

H 3

ficer,

\* Octavius, Mark Anthony and Lepidus, who held a Consultation here, and agreed between themselves, to keep the Government in their Hands, as had been done before by *Julius Cæsar*, *Pompey* and *Crassus*.

† By these three Birds may be understood the three Confederates Octavius, Anthony and Lepidus; and the Crows falling upon the Eagle, as an Omen that the two last shou'd break with Augustus; and the Eagle, which was a Bird of Victory and Royalty, and was also the Roman Standard, by fixing upon his Pavilion shew'd, that Augustus shou'd prove a Conqueror, and obtain the Empire.

\* See the Note on the Word *Auctus*, Pag. 62.

ficer, wou'd now fall upon them who had the Entrails in their Possession: which happen'd accordingly. The Day before he began the Sea-Fight at Sicily, as he was walking on the Shore, a \* Fish leap'd out of the Sea, and lay at his Feet. As he was going to engage at *Ætium*, he mett a little Ass with its Driver; the Name of the Man was † *Eutychus*, and the Beast's †† *Nicom*. After the Victory he erected a Brazen Statue of both, in the ‡ Temple which he built on the Place where he had encamp'd.

97. His Death, which I shall now speak of, and his Divinity after Death, were made known by most apparent Tokens. When he was finishing a || *Lustrum* in the *Campus Martius* with a vast Concourse of the People, an Eagle flew round him several times, and passing to the next -|- Temple, settled upon the Name of

\* To signify the Subjection of the Sea, and that he shou'd have the Victory in the following Battel.

† i. e. Good Fortune.

†† i. e. Victory.

‡ See Pag. 72.

|| An expiatory Sacrifice call'd *Suovetaurilia*, consisting of a Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull, which was made at the Conclusion of a general Survey of the People in the *Campus Martius*, to implore the Favour and Protection of the Gods upon the Roman Affairs. This Survey was by Custom every Five Years; and hence the Word *Lustrum* came to signify that Term. At the Time also, the presiding Magistrates made and enter'd in a Book, solemn Vows for the Prosperity of the People, which were to be perform'd at the next *Lustrum*.

-|- The Eagle was the Imperial Bird, and Augustus, who was Emperor, expected to be consecrated after his Death. He seems therefore to have constru'd this Accident thus, That the Eagle's perching in a Temple at the Letter A, which was also the first of his Name, was an Indication that he shou'd shortly be taken from among Mortal Men, and made a God.



of *Agrippa*, at the first Letter; which being remark'd, he commanded his Collegue *Tiberius* to ordain the Vows it was the Custom to make against the next *Lustrum*. For tho' the Tablets in which they were enter'd, were all prepar'd, he refus'd to undertake Vows which he shou'd not live to perform. About the same Time, a Flash of Lightning melted off the first Letter of his Name in the Inscription on his Statue; and it was \* answer'd, that he shou'd live but an hundred Days after it, the Number which was signify'd by the Letter C; and that he shou'd be admitted among the Gods, since in the *Etruscan* Language a God is call'd *ÆSAR*, the remaining Part of the Name of *Cæsar*. Intending therefore to dispatch *Tiberius* to *Illyricum*, and to accompany him as far as † *Beneventum*; and several breaking in upon him, and detaining him to give Judgment in one Cause and another, he cry'd out, and it was afterwards accounted among the Omens, *If all the Affairs of the World stood still, he wou'd see Rome no more*: And beginning his Journey, he went outright to †† *Astura*, and departed thence by Night, \* contrary to Custom, to take the Advantage of the Wind.

H 4

98. Having

\* *The Augurs here call'd in two Languages to their Assistance to make up this Answer. For C is a Latin Numeral, and Æsar is a Greek Word with an Etruscan Termination.*

† *A Town of Italy, originally call'd Maleventum, from the Tempestuous Winds with which it was infested.*

†† *An Island of Italy, situated upon a River of the same Name.*

\* *Suetonius having said, Pag. 128, that Augustus generally travell'd by Night, this cannot signify his setting out from Astura by Night, was contrary to his Custom; but rather that his travelling so fast, and making so large a Stage, was so: Because in the same Place he also says, Augustus's Journeys us'd to be leisurcly and short.*

98. Having visited the Coasts of *Campania* and the neighbouring Islands, he spent four Days at *Caprea*, where he wholly resign'd himself to Ease and pleasurable Conversation. As he happen'd to pass by the Bay of *Puteoli*, the Freighters and Mariners of an *Alexandrine* Vessel which had put into the Port, as they were offering Frankincense, clad in White and crown'd with Garlands, heap'd all manner of good Wishes and Praises upon him, crying, that *they liv'd by Him, sail'd by Him, and by Him enjoy'd their Liberty and Fortunes*. His Spirits therefore being wonderfully elevated at this, he divided four hundred Crowns of Gold among his Train, and exacted an Oath and Security of every one not to lay out that Summ, but in purchasing the \* Wares of *Alexandria*. Also for several Days together, among other Presents, he gave † Gowns and Clokes; upon Condition that the †† Romans shou'd use the *Grecian* Habit and Language, and the *Greeks* the *Roman*. He was continually seeing young Men exercise, of whom there was yet remaining a Number at *Caprea*, educated after the \* antient Manner: And these he entertain'd at a Banquet in his Presence, permitting, and even requiring them to take a Freedom of Joking, and of snatching away the Apples

\* *Spices, Paper, Flax, Lawn, &c.*

† *The Gown was the Roman Habit, and the Cloke the Grecian.*

†† *This relates only to those in Augustus's Train, and as Sabellicus reasonably supposes, was design'd purely to create Diversion. For while Strangers, who were not in the Secret, wou'd at first sight certainly imagine the Grecians to be Romans by their Habit, and the Romans to be Grecians, it wou'd puzzle them in their Hearts what to make of it, when they heard the Romans speaking broken Greek, and the Grecians murdering the Latin Tongue.*

\* *The Grecians, from whom the Romans borrow'd these Exercises.*

Apples and other Dishes, which it was usual for the Guests to send from Table to their absent Friends. In a Word, he forbore no manner of Merriment. The Island next to *Caprea* he call'd \* *Ἀπρηγορομένη*, from the Sloth of those who retir'd thither out of his Retinue.

99. One of his Favourites † *Masgabas* by Name, he us'd to call †† *Κτίστην*, as if he had been the Founder of the Island. And observing once from his Parlour the Tomb of this *Masgabas*, who had been dead a Year, was frequented by a prodigious Crowd with a Multitude of Lights, he pronounc'd aloud this Verse which he made *Extempore*,

Κτίστη· ὃ πύλον εἰσορᾷ πυρέμενον.

I see the Founder's Tomb is all on Fire.

And turning to \* *Thrasyllus*, *Tiberius's* Companion,  
H 5 who

\* *The City of Idleness.*

† Augustus having exchange'd with the *Neapolitans* for the Island *Caprea*, employ'd *Masgabas* to put it into a good Posture, and to stock it with Inhabitants: And because he was the Officer who immediately appear'd in this Affair, the People look'd upon him as the Founder of the Place, and accordingly paid him these Honours at his Tomb. Augustus merrily gave him this Name, to laugh at that Popular Opinion; and the Verses he made here, are to be understood also in the same facetious Sense.

†† *The Founder.*

\* A Professor of Wisdom, and a noted Astrologer. *Tiberius*, with whom he was very intimate at *Rhodes*, was once on the point of making him pay very dear for his Skill. (See his Life § 14.) *Casaubon* says that he profess'd Philosophy, and not the Curious Arts; but 'tis certain the Roman Writers represent him as a Fortune-teller. For *Suetonius* expressly calls him *Mathematicus*, and *Juvenal* mentions him as a Man eminent in the Art.

———— numeris revocata *Thrasylli*. Sat. 6.



who was at Table and knew nothing of the Matter, he ask'd him, What Poet's he took that Verse to be? *Thrasyllus* hesitating upon it, he added another,

Ὅσας φάειν Μασγάβαν πῦρ ἔσθ'.

See how for *Masgabas* the Torches shine!

And then putting the Question to him again, and *Thrasyllus* returning no other Answer, than *Whose-ever the Verses were, they were very good*: he set up a \* Laugh, and rally'd him extremely. He afterwards pass'd over to *Naples*, tho' his Bowels were grown weak by the Course of the Distemper; yet he beheld the five Years Athletick Games which were instituted in his Honour, and went forward with *Tiberius* to the † Place intended. But the Disease increasing upon him in his Return, he at length sunk under it at *Nola*: And calling back *Tiberius* from his Journey, he held him a long Time in private Discourse; after which he suffer'd no Business of Importance to engage his Thoughts.

100. The last Day of his Life, having enquir'd several times, whether there was any Tumult abroad upon his Account, he ‡ call'd for a Looking-glass

\* *Augustus* laugh'd to see how he had puzzled a boasted Prof.ſsor of Knowledge, and a Conjurcr.

† *Beneventum*.

‡ *Julius Cæſar's* covering himself with his Robes, so as not to have his Body expos'd in his Fall, was a just and decent Care. And there is a kind of Greatness in *Vespasian's* raising himself upon his Feet when he was expiring, crying out, An Emperor ought to die standing. But this seems an effeminate Vanity in *Augustus*, to be so nice in adjusting his Features at so important an Hour. His Question to his Friends, shews the high Opinion he had of his own Conduct: And as by his Expression he regarded  
Life

glass, and ordering his Hair to be comb'd, and his fallen Cheeks to be handsomely compos'd, he ask'd his Friends who were now admitted, *Whether in their Opinion he had not play'd the Part of Life well?* and added this Close,

Ἐἰ δὲ πᾶν ἔχει καλῶς τὰ παύσιον  
 Δότε κρότον, καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς μετὰ χαρῆς κτυπήσατε.

Then if the Play your Approbation draws,  
 Clap all, and stamp, and crown it with Applause.

And the Company being put out, while he examin'd some who were arriv'd from the City, concerning *Drusus's* Daughter, who was sick, he expir'd suddenly amidst the \* Kisses of *Livia* with these Words,  
*Livia,*

*Life as a Farce, in which he had perform'd a Mimic, it was continuing the Character of a Player, to set himself off to the best Advantage to the Spectators, and beg their Applause at his closing up his Part and finally quitting the Stage.*

\* It was a general Custom with the Antients, for the nearest Relation or Friend to embrace the expiring Person, and receive the last Breath in a Kiss.

—————extremus siquis superhalitus errat,  
 Ore legam. *Virg.*

—————while I in Death  
 Lay close my Lips to hers, and catch the flying Breath.  
*Mr. Dryden.*

Notwithstanding this Tenderness of *Livia* to *Augustus* in his last Moments, *Tacitus* says, she was suspected to have been the Cause of his Death. For, understanding there had been an Interview between *Augustus* and *Agrippa*, she was jealous lest *Agrippa* shou'd come into Favour again, and her Son *Tiberius* be excluded the Succession; and therefore to secure the Matter, *Dion Cassius* says, she poison'd her Husband, and conceal'd his Death, till *Tiberius* was arriv'd to take Possession.

*Livia*, † live mindful of our Marriage, and farewell ; making an easy Exit, and such an one as he had always desir'd : For whenever he heard any departed quickly and without Pain, he generally wish'd himself and his might have the same †† *Euthanasia*, for that was his usual Expression. He gave only one Sign of a *Delirium* before he breath'd his last, which was, that falling into a sudden Consternation, he complain'd he was carry'd away by forty young Men. But this was rather a Prefage than a Phrenzy ; for so many *Pretorian* Soldiers bore him out to his Funerals. He dy'd in the same \* Chamber as his Father *Octavius* ; the two *Sexti*, *Pompey* and *Apuleius*, being Consuls ; on the † Fourteenth of the *Kalends* of *September*, at the †† Ninth Hour of the Day, and in the Seventy-sixth Year of his Age, wanting five and Thirty Days.

101. The Heads of the Corporations and Colonies carry'd the Corps from || *Nola* to \* *Boville*, travelling

† Whether *Livia* were sincere or not, 'tis certain she had the Art of engaging *Augustus's* Affection intirely, and preserv'd it to the last. This final Charge shews, *Augustus* was full of the Happiness of their Marriage ; and it gave him no Compunction that he had so scandalously torne her from the Arms of her former Husband, even when she was big with Child.

†† An easy Death.

\* According to *Tacitus*, he dy'd also on the same Day on which he came to the Possession of the Empire ; and therefore it is no Wonder, if these Circumstances are true, that they made a deep Impression on the Minds of the People.

\* August 19th.

†† Three of the Clock in the Afternoon.

|| A Town of *Campania* in Italy, near *Vesuvius* ; of a Grecian Original, and once strongly fortify'd.

Hinc ad *Chalcidicam* transfert citus agmine *Nolan*, &c. *Sil. Ital.*

From



ling with it by † Night, because of the Season of the Year; and in the Day-time it was repos'd in the publick Hall of each Town, or in the principal † Temple. From *Borville* the \* *Equestrian* Order took it up and bore it to the City, and plac'd it in the †† Porch of his own House. In appointing his Funeral

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*From hence, with hasty March, his Troops he leads  
To Nola, seated in fair Champion Meads:  
Firm are the Walls, and compass'd round with Tow'rs,  
And a deep Trench the level Plain secures.*

\* A Town of Latium in Italy. Tacitus says there was a Sacristy built there to the Julian Family, and an Image erected to Augustus Cæsar.

† The Heats in the Summer being so excessive, that Travellers are oblig'd to lie by in the Day, and pursue their Journey by Night with Torches. 'Tis to this Custom the Simile in Ovid refers.

Ut facibus sepes ardent, quas forte viator  
Vel nimis admovit, vel jam sub luce reliquit.

*As nightly Travellers, when Day returns,  
Their useless Torches on dry Hedges throw,  
That catch the Flame, and kindle all the Row.*

Mr. Dryden.

† The Contact of a Dead Body was thought to carry a certain Pollution in it: But as Augustus was to be admitted into the Number of the Gods, they might perhaps imagine his Divinity render'd his Corps pure, and prevented it from conveying any Uncleaness by the Touch.

\* The having the Body carry'd by Persons of Rank and Quality, was a particular Honour; and thus Augustus's is borne here by the Knights, and at the Time of the Burning by the Senators.

†† It was a Custom to expose the Body in the Porch, that it might appear to all Persons to have dy'd a Natural Death.

neral Pomps, and the Honours to be paid to his Memory, the Senate was transported with such Emulation and Zeal, that, among other Things, some propos'd the Procession shou'd be made thro' the \* Triumphant Gate, preceded by the Image of *Victory*, which stands in the *Julian* Court, Princes-Children of both Sexes singing the *Dirge*; others, that on the Day of the Obsequies, the Nobles shou'd put off their † Gold Rings and wear Iron ones; and some, that his \* Bones shou'd be gather'd up by the Priests of the †† Principal Colleges; and One wou'd have perswaded them, to transfer the Name of *August* from that Month to the Month of *September*, because *Augustus* was born in this, and dy'd in the former: And another Person mov'd, that all the Time from the Day of his Nativity to his Death, shou'd be styl'd the *AUGUST AGE*, and be so enter'd in the \*† *Fas-ti*. But some Moderation being at last observ'd in the Honours, he was prais'd in two Orations; by *Tiberius* before the Temple of *Julius Cæsar*, and at the || *Rostra sub Veteribus* by *Tiberius's* Son *Drusus*, and his Body

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\* Call'd so, because the Triumphs enter'd thro' it.

† The Quality wore Gold Rings, and the Common People Iron. The Nobles therefore, to express the Greatness of their Sorrow, were to throw off this distinguishing Ornament, and put themselves upon a Level with the Vulgar.

\* The Bones were gather'd up after the Burning, to be inclos'd in an Urn, and preserv'd.

†† They were Four in Number, the College of the Pontifices, the Augurs, the Epulones, and the College of the Fifteen, who kept the Sybilline Oracles.

\*† The *Kalendar*, which contain'd the Feasts, and Holidays, &c.

|| The *Rostra* were spacious Places for publick Harangues, adorn'd with the Beaks of Ships taken from the Enemy, in Latin, *Rostrum*; from whence the Name. The *Rostrum* here mention'd, is thought to have been just by the old Shops of private Bankers, and therefore call'd *Rostra sub Veteribus*.

Body was then carry'd on the Senators Shoulders into the Field, and burnt. Nor was there wanting a Person of the *Pretorian* Rank, who \* swore he saw his Likeness ascend up into Heaven. The chief of the *Equestrian* Order stripp'd themselves into their Tunics, and ungirt and bare-footed, collected his Remains, and bury'd them in the *Mausoleum*, a Monument which *Augustus* had himself erected in his sixth Consulate, between the *Flaminian* Way and the Banks of the *Tiber*, and had given the Woods and Walks adjoining to it for the Use of the People.

102. His Testament was produc'd, which he made a Year and four Months before he dy'd, on the third of the † Ides of *April*, in the Consulship of *L. Plancius* and *C. Silius*. It was consisting of †† two Scrolls, and was written partly by his own Hand, and partly by his Freedmen *Polybius* and *Hilarion*, and was deposited with six Vestal Virgins, together with three Instruments, seal'd exactly like the Will. All these were open'd in the Senate, and read. The first Heirs he appointed were *Tiberius* for a Half and a sixth Part, and *Livia* for a third, whom he also commanded to bear his Name. The secondary Heirs were *Tiberius's* Son *Drusus* for a third Part, and *Germanicus* and his three Male-Children for the Remainder. In the third Degree were a great many Relations and Friends.

\* So at the Death of *Romulus*, to put the Matter past Question, *Proculus* swore roundly that he saw him ascend into Heaven. The present Evidence, according to *Dion Cassius*, was *Numerius*; and he says, *Livia* gave him Ten Hundred Thousand *Sesterces* as a Reward for his Deposition.

† April the 11th, in the Year of Rome 765.

†† *Duobus Codicibus*. The Exposition offer'd by *Cassaubon* is certainly just, that by *duos Codices* are meant not two several Copies but one Copy consisting of two Skins of Parchment, written partly by *Augustus* himself, and partly by his two Servants. For since *Suetonius* says, the Will was lodg'd with the Vestal Virgins alone, there cou'd be no Reason for making Duplicates of it.



Friends. To the *Roman* People he left Four \* Millions of Sesterces ; to the Tribes, † Three Millions and a Half ; to the †† *Pretorian* Soldiers, a Thousand Pieces a Man ; to the City Cohorts, Five Hundred, and to the Legionaries Three Hundred ; which Summ he order'd to be paid immediately, having always reserv'd it ready in the Treasury. The other Legacies he appointed to be receiv'd at various Times, descending in some to †† Twenty Thousand Sesterces, to be paid annually on one particular Day ; excusing the Smallness of his Estate, and protesting that there wou'd not come to his Heirs above a || Hundred and Fifty Millions of Sesterces ; tho' in the last twenty Years of his Life he had receiv'd x Four Thousand Millions, by the Testaments of his Friends ; almost all which, with two Paternal Patrimonies and other Inheritances he had expended upon the Republick. He forbid his Daughter and his Grand-Daughter *Julia*, whenever they shou'd happen to die, to be bury'd in his Sepulchre. Of the three Instruments mention'd above, in one he compris'd his Directions concerning his Funerals ; in the other, a Series of his Atchievements, which he desir'd might be engrav'd in Tables of Brass, and plac'd before his *Mausoleum* ; and in the third was contain'd an Abstract of the State of the whole Empire, what Number of Troops were in every Part, what Money was in the Treasury and in the Chest of Consecrations, and what Arrears of Tributes were standing out. He added also the Names of the Freedmen and Slaves, whom it might be proper to call to Account.

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\* 1000000 Crowns, according to Budæus's Valuations.

† 87500.

†† The *Pretorian* Cohort was first constituted by Scipio Numantinus ; the Number was afterwards increas'd, and these Troops were the Emperor's Life-Guard.

|| 500 Crowns. || 3750000 Crowns. x 35000000.



*M. J. P. G. G. G. G. G.*



THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*Tiberius Nero Cæsar.*



HE \* *Claudian* Family among the † *Patricians* (for there was one of this Name also among the *Plebeians*, no Way inferior in Power and Dignity) came originally from *Regillæ*, a Town of the *Sabines*; from whence it was transplanted

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\* *Virgil made this Family the Compliment of deducing them from Clausus, a Sabine General, who furnish'd a Body of Troops for Turnus's Aid against Æneas.*

*Ecce Sabinorum prisco de sanguine magnum  
Agmen agens Clausus, &c.*

*Then Clausus came, who led a num'rous Band  
Of Troops embody'd from the Sabine Land,  
And in Himself alone an Army brought:  
'Twas He the Noble Claudian Race begot,  
The Claudian Race, ordain'd, in Times to come,  
To share the Greatness of Imperial Rome.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

† *The Patrician House of the Claudii bore the Surname of Pulcher, and the Plebeian of Marcellus.*



planted to Rome with a great Number of Dependents, at the first Building of the City, by the Means of †† Titus Tatius, who was Collegue with Romulus : Or, which seems better attested, it was made Patri- cian by the Senate, about six Years after the Expul- sion of the Kings, † Atta Claudius being then the Head

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†† He was King of the Sabines, at the Time when Ro- mulus and his Romans committed the Rape on the Sa- bine Women. The Quarrel being peaceably terminated between them, Tatius remov'd from Cures, the Town where he resided, to Rome, and was admitted Partner in the Government with Romulus, and the two Nations were em- body'd : But Tatius dy'd in a short Time, being murder'd, it was thought, by Romulus, who did not like a Collegue. Virgil has describ'd the Story of the Rape upon Æneas's Shield, which Vulcan made for him at the Desire of Venus.

Nec procul hinc Romam, & raptas sine more  
Sabinas, &c.

Not far from thence new Rome appears, with Games  
Projected for the Rape of Sabine Dames.  
The Pit resounds with Shrieks, a War succeeds,  
For Breach of publick Faith, and unexampl'd Deeds.  
Here Tatius and his Sabine Troops contend,  
The Romans there with Arms the Prey defend;  
Wear'd with tedious War, at length they cease,  
And both the Kings and Kingdoms plight the Peace.  
The friendly Chiefs before Jove's Altar stand,  
Both arm'd, with each a Charger in his Hand;  
A fatted Sow for Sacrifice is led,  
With Imprecations on the Perjur'd Head.

Mr. Dryden.

† His Sabine Name was Atta Clausus ; after his Set- tlement among the Romans, he was call'd Appius Clau- dius. He was born at Regillum, and his Countrymen resolving

Head of the Family. A Space of Country beyond the † *Anien*, was publicly allotted for his Adherents, and a Burial-place for himself under the Capitol. In Length of Time this Family had Twenty eight Consuls, five Dictators, seven Censors, seven who Triumph'd, and two who had receiv'd Ovarions. And whereas it was distinguish'd by various \* *Prænomena* and *Cognomina*, the *Prænomen* of *Lucius* was rejected by Consent; because of two of that Name, one had been convicted of Robbery, and the other of Murder. Among its *Cognomina* it assum'd that of *Nero*, which in the *Sabine* Language signifies *Valiant* and *Strong*. 2. Many

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*resolving, contrary to E's Persuasion, to make War on the Romans, he left the Town, and remov'd to Rome with Five Thousand Families.*

† *A Sabine River. It parted the Sabines from the Latins, and mix'd with the Tiber. Horace and Statius call it the swift Anien:*

[phæ

Vos mihi quæ Latium, septenaq; culmina Nym-  
Incolitis, Tyberimq; novis extollicis undis  
Quas præcep̃s Anien, &c. Statius.

*Ye River-Nymphs, whose copious-flowing Rills  
Latium supply, and feed the Roman Hills,  
And with new Streams the lordly Tiber swell,  
Or in the Fount of rapid Anien dwell.*

*And Virgil the cold, or dewy,*

————— gelidumq; Anien.

*Beside the Succour which cold Anien yields.*

Mr. Dryden.

\* *The Romans who were free-born had three Names, a Prænomen, a Nomen, and a Cognomen. The first answers to our Christian-Name, the Nomen was the standing Name of the Family, and the Cognomen was added to distinguish the Families, and was also Hereditary.*

2. Many honourable Actions, which deserv'd well of the Publick, are recorded of several of the *Claudii*; and many which were otherwise. To mention only the chief. † *Appius Cæcus* dissuaded making an Alliance with King *Pyrrhus*, as a Thing unsafe in its Consequence. *Claudius* \* *Caudex* was the first who sail'd a Fleet thro' the *Streights*, and expell'd the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*. And *Claudius Nero* cut off *Asdrubal*, coming with a great Body of Recruits from *Spain*, before he cou'd join his Brother *Hannibal*. On the other hand, †† *Claudius Appius Regillianus*, who was one of the *Decemviri* for compiling a Body of Laws, attempting by violent Means to cause a Free Virgin to be pronounc'd a Slave, that she might be subjected to his Lust, occasion'd the Commons to separate a second time from the Nobility. *Claudius Drusus*, having his Statue erected at *Appii-Forum* with a Diadem, endeavour'd to possess himself of *Italy* by means of his Dependents and Vassals. And *Claudius Pulcher*, when the Chickens which were us'd in Divination, refus'd to feed, threw them over-board in Contempt of the Religious Rites; as if he had resolv'd, since they wou'd not eat, they shou'd drink, and immediately began the Sea-Fight at *Sicily*: And being routed, when the Senate order'd him to name a Dictator, as if he wou'd again make

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† The Name of *Cæcus* was given him from his Misfortune of losing his Sight, which the Romans esteem'd as the Punishment of the Gods upon him, for dispensing with the Priests, the *Potitii*, serving in Person, according to the Duty of their Order. When he was Censor, he pav'd that noble Road from *Rome* to *Brundisium*, which is yet remaining, and is call'd from him the *Appian-Way*.

\* *Seneca* says, he had the Name of *Caudex* from first introducing the Use of Ships among the Romans.

†† He was the Son of *Appius Claudius*, who came from *Regillum*. He was depriv'd of his Office for this Piece of Injustice, and committed to Prison, where he took Poyson and dy'd.



a Jest of the publick Danger, he appointed *Ilycias*, his Messenger. The Women of the Family have also afforded Instances in either Kind. For of this House were the two *Claudiæ*; both she who set free the Ship which carry'd the Utenfils of the Mother of the Gods, when it was stranded in the *Tiber*, having openly requested, *That the Vessel might follow her, if she had preserv'd her \* Chastity*; and the other, who was condemn'd for Treason by the People, after an unprecedented Manner, tho' a Woman, because her Chariot being scarcely able to move on thro' a prodigious Croud, she was heard to wish her Brother *Pulcher* were alive again to lose another Fleet, that there might be less thronging at *Rome*. And except *Publius Clodius*, who submitted to be adopted by a *Plebeian*, who was also much † younger than himself, in order to get †† *Cicero* expell'd the City; 'tis certain, the whole Family were always of Noble Rank, and were strenuous Assertors of the Dignity and Power of the *Patricians*, and treated the Populace with such inveterate Disdain, that no one of them, tho' under a Capital Sentence from the Commons, wou'd condescend so much as to change his Cloaths, or ask them to repeal the Judgment. And some of them once in a publick Squabble beat the Tribunes. Also a Vestal Virgin of their House, when her Brother began a Triumph without the Permission of the People, went up to him into his Chariot, and accompany'd him to the Capitol, that it might not be

in

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\* *She had been accus'd of Incontinence. After this Supplication, she is said to have fasten'd her Girdle to the Ship, and to have drawn it along to the Harbour.*

† *This was against the Laws of Adoption. For it being impossible a Man shou'd be Son to one Younger than himself, this Circumstance, Justinian says, ought to be observ'd in Adoption, which is an Imitation of Nature.*

†† See Page 12.

in the Power of the Tribunes to interpose and stop the Procession.

3. From this Stem *Tiberius Caesar* on each side deriv'd his Line, taking his Paternal from *Tiberius Nero*, and his Maternal from *Appius Pulcher*, who were both the Sons of *Appius Cæcus*. He was related also to the *Livian* Family, his Mother's Grandfather being adopted into it. Tho' this Family was indeed *Plebeian*, yet it made a considerable Figure, producing eight Consuls, two Censors, and three Persons who Triumph'd. It receiv'd also the Honour of the Dictatorship, with the Command of Master of the Horse; and was distinguish'd for several Illustrious Men, particularly *Salinator* and the *Drusii*. *Salinator*, in his Censorship, roundly rally'd all the Tribes for their Levity; because that after they had impos'd a large \* Fine upon him upon his first Consulate, they chose him repeatedly Consul and Censor. And *Drusus* having slain *Drusus*, the Enemy's General, in single Combat, had the Surname continu'd to himself and his Posterity: And 'tis reported, when he was Pro-Pretor, he brought back from *Gaul* the † Gold which was paid out to the *Senones*, when they besieg'd the Capitol, and which, they say, *Camillus* did not make them refund. His Great Grandson, who for his vigorous Opposition of the †† *Gracchi*, was styl'd the

*Patron*

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\* He was fin'd, for not having made an equal Division of the Booty among the Souldiers.

† As the Romans were weighing out a Sum of Gold to the Gauls for their Ransom, *Camillus* with a Body of Troops fell in upon the Enemy by Surprise, beat them out of the City, and, according to *Livy* and *Plutarch*, took the Gold from them on the Spot.

†† *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*, two Brothers. *Tiberius*, to please the Populace, caus'd the Laws for dividing the Lands taken from the Enemy, among the Commons, call'd the *Agrarian Laws*, to be reviv'd. The Nobles oppos'd

*Patron of the Senate*, left a Son, who was treacherously kill'd by the contrary Faction, as he was making several Attempts in a like Dissention.

4. The Father of *Tiberius*, who was Questor to *Julius Cæsar*, commanded the Fleet in the *Alexandrine War*, and contributed very much towards the Victory. Wherefore he was chosen High Priest, in the Room of *P. Scipio*, and was sent to lead over a Colony to *Gaul*; in which Colony *Narbo* and *Arelate* were comprehended. Yet when upon the Murder of *Cæsar*, all Men in Fear of Confusions, voted for an Act of Oblivion, he was for passing a Bill even to appoint a Premium for those who had slain the Tyrant. At the Expiration of his Pretorship, a Dispute happening between the Triumvirs in the Close of the Year, he kept the \* Ensigns of his Office beyond the limited Time, and follow'd *L. Anthony* the Consul, Brother of the Triumvir, to *Pelusia*; and when every one else submitted, he stood out alone, and would not abandon his Party. He retir'd first to *Preneſte*, then to *Naples*; and having in vain invited the Slaves to list under him, with offering them their Liberty, he fled to *Sicily*: But resenting that *Sextus Pompey* did not immediately admit him to his Presence, and that he was forbidden to use the *Fasces*, he went over to *Mark Anthony* in *Achaia*; and a general Reconciliation being quickly form'd between the several † Parties, he came back to *Rome* with him, and at the Desire of *Augustus*, gave up to him his Wife *Livia Drusilla*, who was then great with Child, and had

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pos'd him, and the Dispute was carry'd so far, that *Publius Nasica* dash'd out *Tiberius's* Brains, as he was making a Speech to the People. His Brother *Caius* pursuing the same Design, was taken and put to Death two Years after, by the Order of *Opimius* the Consul.

\* The Ensigns of his Office, as Pretor; which he still retain'd, tho' his Magistracy was expir'd.

† *Sextus Pompey* and the new Triumvirs.



had already borne him a †† Son ; and not long after he dy'd, leaving behind him both his Sons, *Tiberius* and *Drusus Nero*.

5. Some have been led by a groundless Conceit, to think *Tiberius* was born at \* *Funda*, because his Maternal Grandmother was of that Place, and because an Image of *Felicity* was shortly after erected there by a Decree of the Senate. But, as a greater Number with more Certainty affirm, he was born at *Rome* in the Palace, on the † sixteenth of the Kalends of *December*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being a second time Consul, with *L. Munatius Plancus*, after the War of *Phillipi*: For it is enter'd thus in the *Fasti* and the Publick A&Ss. Nor have some been wanting who said he was born the preceding Year, in the Consulate of *Hirtius* and *Pansa* ; and others, in the Year following, when *Servilius Isauricus* and *Anthony* were Consuls.

6. His Infancy and Childhood were full of Toil and Hazard, he being made the constant Companion of his Parents in their Flights. At *Naples*, while they striving to get privately on Board, as the Enemy was rushing into the Town, he had almost twice betray'd them by his Crying ; once as he was snatch'd from the Nurse's Breast, and another time from his Mother's Arms, by some who in the present Exigence endeavour'd to ease the poor Women of their Load. He was convey'd thro' *Sicily* and *Achaia*, and entrusted to the Publick Protection of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were under the Patronage of the *Claudian* Family ; from whence as he was departing by Night,

†† *Tiberius*. His Mother *Livia* was with Child of his Brother *Drusus*, when her Husband surrender'd her up to *Augustus* ; within three Months after which, *Drusus* was born.

\* A Town of *Latium Novum*, seated by a Lake, which was nam'd from the Town, the *Fundane Lake*.

† November the 16th.

Night, he came into Danger of his Life ; for a Flame breaking suddenly out of the Woods, surrounded the whole Company so closely, that *Livia's* Hair and part of her Garment were burnt. The Toys which were presented him by *Pompeia*, the Sister of *Sextus Pompey*, in *Sicily*, the Scarf with the Clasps, and the Golden \* *Bulle*, are still preserv'd, and are shewn at *Baiæ*. After his Return to *Rome*, being adopted by *Marcus* † *Gallius*, a Senator, in his Will, he took Possession of the Inheritance, but forbore to assume the Name, because *Gallius* had always sided with the Enemies of *Augustus*. He pronounc'd a Funeral Oration from the *Rostra*, when he was Nine Years old, in Praise of his Father : And at the Age of a Youth he accompany'd *Augustus's* Chariot in his *Actian* Triumph, riding on his Left Hand on a Horse nobly caparison'd, while *Octavia's* Son \*\* *Marcellus* was mounted upon another on the Right.

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He

\* See the Note p. 53.

† 'Tis likely he was a near Relation of *Q. Gallius* the Pretor, whom *Augustus* inhumanly put to Death without any Reason ; and this might provoke him to be *Augustus's* Enemy. See p. 79.

\*\* *Octavia* was *Augustus's* Sister ; she was marry'd first to *Caius Marcellus*, and afterwards to *Mark Anthony*, who abus'd her in a very scandalous Degree. She surviv'd him, and liv'd with her Brother in great Favour, after he was possid'd of the Empire. By her first Husband she had her Son *Marcellus*, a Youth of such great and amiable Qualifications, that he was the Darling of the Roman People ; and *Augustus* design'd to make him his Successor, but he dy'd untimely at *Baiæ* in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, universally lamented : For the crafty Empress *Livia* was determin'd to make the Succession fall on her own Son *Tiberius*. The Panegyrick on this *Marcellus*, in the Sixth Book of *Virgil's Æneis*, is so beautiful, that I shall venture to insert it here at length,

He also presided at the *Ælian Games*, and at the  
Trojan

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length, having acquainted the Reader, that when he rehears'd it before Augustus and Octavia, it threw them into Tears and a Fit of the most passionate Sorrow, and that Octavia afterwards presented the Poet with above Two Thousands Pounds for his Verses.

*Atque hic Æneas (una namque ire videbat, &c.*

*Æneas, here, beheld of Form Divine  
A Godlike Youth, in glitt'ring Armour shine :  
With great Marcellus, keeping equal Pace ;  
But gloomy were his Eyes, dejected was his Face.  
He saw, and wond'ring, ask'd his airy Guide,  
What, and of whence was he, who press'd the Hero's Side ?  
His Son, or one of his Illustrious Name,  
How like the former, and almost the same.  
Observe the Crowds that compass him around ;  
All gaze, and all admire, and raise a shouting Sound.  
But how'ring Mists around his Brows are spread,  
And Night, with sable Shades, involves his Head.  
Seek not to know (the Ghost reply'd with Tears)  
The Sorrows of thy Sons in future Years.  
This Youth (the blissful Vision of a Day)  
Shall just be shown on Earth, and snatch'd away.  
The Gods too high had rais'd the Roman State,  
Were but their Gifts as permanent as great.  
What Groans of Men shall fill the Martian Field !  
How fierce a Blaze his flaming Pilc shall yield !  
What Fun'ral Pomp shall floating Tiber see,  
When, rising from his Bed, he views the sad Solemnity !  
No Youth shall equal Hopes of Glory give :  
No Youth afford so great a Cause to grieve.  
The Trojan Honour, and the Roman Boast ;  
Admir'd when living, and ador'd when lost !  
Mirrour of Antient Faith in early Youth !  
Undaunted Worth, Inviolable Truth !*



Trojan Exercise in the Circus, and led up the Troop of greater Boys.

7. After he had assum'd the Virile Gown, his whole Youth, and the following Part of his Age to the time of his succeeding to the Government, was mostly employ'd in Things of this Kind: He gave two Shews of Gladiators in Honour of his Father's Memory, and of his Grandfather *Drusus's*, at different Times and in different Places; for the first was in the Forum, and the last in the Amphitheatre; and in them he procur'd, at a Premium of a \* Hundred Thousand Sesterces, several Swordsmen, who had receiv'd their Discharge, † to come upon the Stage again. He also exhibited Games, but was not present at the Performance. These were all very magnificent, and the Expence of them was borne

I 2

by

*No Foe unpunish'd in the fighting Field,  
Shall dare Thee Foot to Foot, with Sword and Shield;  
Much less, in Arms oppose thy matchless Force,  
When thy sharp Spurs shall urge thy foaming Horse.  
Ah! cou'dst thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,  
A new Marcellus shall arise in Thee!  
Full Canisters of fragrant Lillies bring,  
Mix'd with the Purple Roses of the Spring:  
Let me with Fun'ral Flow'rs his Body strow;  
This Gift, which Parents to their Children owe,  
This unavailing Gift, at least, I may bestow!*

Mr. Dryden.

\* Two thousand and Five hundred Crowns.

† Gladiators receiv'd their Discharge either on Account of Age, or of having fought bravely and won many Victories. These were certainly of the last sort; for Tiberius wou'd never have given such a Summ to a Company of decrepit old Fellows. The Reason why it cost him so high a Premium, undoubtedly was, because those who had already receiv'd the Publick Testimony of their Honour were very unwilling to hazard their Reputation again.

by his Mother and his Father-in-Law. He marry'd *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *Marcus Agrippa*, and Grand-Daughter of *Pomponius* † *Atticus*, a Roman Knight, to whom there are several Epistles of *Cicero* extant. After he had his Son *Drusus* by her, tho' she was every way agreeable, and was then again great with Child, he was forc'd to dismiss her, and to take *Augustus's* Daughter *Julia*; but it was with the utmost Reluctance; for their Conversation had endear'd *Agrippina* to him, and he dislik'd *Julia's* Manners, having observ'd that she had made prompt Advances to him in the time of her former Husband. But after the Divorce was finish'd, he deeply repented that he had sent *Agrippina* away; and seeing her once by Accident, he view'd her so languishingly, and pursu'd her with his Eyes in so passionate a Manner, that particular Care was taken she shou'd never come into his sight again. At first he liv'd quietly with *Julia*, and in mutual Love; but he  
soon

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† *Atticus* liv'd in the Time of the Civil Wars of Rome; and that unconfin'd Humanity and Benevolence he shew'd to the Unfortunate and Necessitous of both Parties, without distinction, has procur'd him a most beautiful Character, both from the Antients and Moderns, who mention him with wonderful Encomiums. Yet, I can't but think, his Example has been sometimes misapply'd, by producing it to argue, that Persons of extraordinary Abilities and high Rank may sit still unconcern'd Spectators, when the Fate of their Country is depending between two contrary Parties, of which the one is asserting the Rights and Laws, and the other is attempting to destroy them; because this must proceed from a Want of publick Vertue and Principles truly generous. The Neutrality of *Atticus* is of a different Kind; since *Sylla* and *Marius*, and *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, were all in the wrong, and fought for their own Ambition and Revenge, and not for the Roman Liberties and Constitution; and consequently an honest Man might justly forbear to take part with either.

soon separated from her ; and the Misunderstanding proceeded so far, that he always lay apart : For their Son, the Pledge of their common Affection, was early snatch'd away, dying in Infancy at *Aquileia*, where he was born. He also lost his Brother *Drusus* in *Germany*, whose Corps he brought back to *Rome*, marching on foot before it all the Way.

8. At his entring upon Publick Affairs, he defended, in several Causes which he pleaded before *Augustus*, King *Archelaus*, the *Trallians*, and the *Thes-salians*. He solicited the Senate for the People of *Laodicea*, *Tyrtara*, and *Caios*, who had suffer'd by an Earthquake, and were imploring Help. *Fannius Cæpio*, who had conspir'd against *Augustus* at *Murena*, with *Varro*, he prov'd guilty of High-Treason before the Judges, and got him condemn'd. At the same Time also he executed a double Office with which he was charg'd ; the Care of the Publick Stores of Corn, which happen'd then to be very scarce, and of reforming the Work-houses over all *Italy*, the Masters of which were under a scandalous Name, for detaining there not only Vagrants, who properly belong'd to them, but others also, whom the Fear of being Imprest into the Service induc'd to shelter themselves in those Privacies.

9. The first Military Post he sustain'd, was a Tribune's, in the \* *Cantabrian Expedition* ; from whence, marching the Army into the East, he restor'd the Kingdom of *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, and put the Diadem upon his Head in a full Court. He also recover'd the † Ensigns, which the *Parthians* had taken from *Marcus Crassus*. After this, for about a Year, he govern'd *Gallia Comata*, which was greatly in-

I 3

festet

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\* The Expedition which *Augustus* made against the People of *Cantabria*. See p. 73, 82.

† This was done in the Reign of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* demanding these Ensigns in *Augustus's* Name. See pag. 74.



fested by the Incursions of the Barbarians, and disturb'd with the Discords of its own Princes. He afterwards manag'd the *Rhetian War*, the *Vindelican*, the *Pannonian*, and the *German*. In the War with the *Rhetii* and *Vindelici*, he subdu'd the Nations who live in the *alps*; and in the *Pannonian*, the *Breuci* and the *Dalmatians*: And in the *German War*, he transported into *Gaul* forty Thousand Men, who had surrender'd themselves into his Hands, and seated them on the Banks of the *Rhine*, where he allotted them Lands. For these Actions he enter'd the City \* in a Chariot, even in an Ovation, and was the first, as some think, who was honour'd with the Triumphal Ornaments, a new kind of Dignity, which was never allow'd to any Man before. He assum'd the Magistracies very early, and ran thro' the several Degrees of them almost at once; as the Questure, the Pretorship, and the Consulate; and after a Space he receiv'd the Consulate a second time, and held the Tribuneship five Years.

10. While a Flood of good Fortune was breaking in upon him together, and he was in the Prime of his Age and a perfect State of Health, he suddenly form'd a Resolution to retire and withdraw as far as possible from Business and publick Notice. It is doubtful whether this proceeded from an Aversion to his Wife, whom he neither dar'd to accuse, or to dismiss, nor cou'd any longer sustain; or whether it was to avoid the Cheapness and Disregard which the Familiarity of a daily Conversation naturally occasions, and to improve his Interest by Absence, whenever his

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\* Contrary to the Original Custom; by which the General in an Ovation walk'd on Foot, or sometimes, tho' very seldom, rode on Horseback. But Tiberius had the Honour in this Ovation to enter the City in a Chariot, which was proper only to a Triumph; and to receive also the Triumphal Ornaments, a thing which Suetonius says, in the Opinion of several, was not known before.

his Service might be wanted in the State. Some imagine, that *Augustus's* Children being now grown up, he gave Place to them, and freely resign'd the second Rank which he had so long possess'd: After the Example of *M. Agrippa*, who retir'd to *Mytilenæ*, when *M. Marcellus* was introduc'd to Publick Affairs, that he might not by his Presence seem to obstruct or impair his Dignity; which was indeed the Reason he himself gave for it some Time after. Pretending therefore a Satiety of Honours, and a Desire to ease himself of the Fatigues of Business, he ask'd for a Permission to travel: Nor cou'd his Mother's passionately intreating him to stay, and his Father-in-Law's complaining in the Senate, that by this he shou'd be left desolate, make any Impression upon him; and when they held him by Force, he was sullen, and refus'd his Food for four Days together. Having at length obtain'd Leave, he quitted *Rome*, abandoning his Wife and his Son, and went immediately to *Ostia*, not speaking one Word to those who accompany'd him thither, and † saluting very few at his Departure.

11. As he was coasting along *Campania* from *Ostia*, he heard of *Augustus's* Weakness, upon which he stopp'd his Progress. But it being strongly report-

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ed,

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† This shew'd the Sowerness of *Tiberius's* Temper. For it was a sacred Custom with the Antients, to salute their Friends and Relations at parting, with a Kiss. Accordingly when *Euryalus*, in *Virgil*, is going upon an Expedition, from which he is doubtful whether he shall come back alive, it is a particular Circumstance of Grief to him, that he had not thus taken his Leave of his Mother:

Inq; salutatam linquo, &c.

Whatever Danger, neither parting Kiss,  
Nor pious Blessing taken, her I leave, &c.

Mr. Dryden.

ed, that he linger'd there in Expectation of some welcome News, he set sail for *Rhodes* with the Wind almost directly against him, having been extremely enamour'd with the Beauty and Healthfulness of the Island, ever since he touch'd there at his Return from *Armenia*. Here being content with a small House, and a Country-Seat not much larger, he liv'd like a private Citizen; coming sometimes into the Schools and Places of Exercise, without either a Lictor or Messenger, and putting himself almost upon a Level with the *Grecian* Pedants, in complying with their usual Forms. It happen'd as he was one Morning allotting his Affairs for the Day, he spoke \* something about the sick People at *Rhodes*, and those who were with him misapprehending his Words, as if he design'd to make them a Visit, occasion'd all the Sick to be brought out into the publick Portico, and dispos'd there according to their several Distempers. Being surpriz'd at this unexpected Accident, he was long doubtful what to do; but at last he went to them Man by Man, excusing the Mistake even to the meanest among them, and such as were utterly unknown to him. The only Instance in which he seem'd to use the Authority of his † Tribunitial Power,

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\* This is the Sense of the Passage in the Latin; but it is not easy to shew from *Suetonius's* Words, *visitare velle*, how such a Mistake cou'd happen. *Schildius* conjectures *Tiberius* said *vitare*, not *visitare*, because 'tis *vitare* in *Salmasius's* Copy, and that his Attendants thought he had said *visitare*. But this does not seem very natural: and guessing is infinite and uncertain.

† *Tiberius's* Retirement to *Rhodes*, notwithstanding all the decent Pretences for it, which were given out by himself and by the Court, to make it seem a voluntary Retreat, was understood by the People, at bottom to be no other than a Banishment, as appears by the Verses § 59. Among other Things to give it a better Face, he was sent thither with a Tribune's Commission, and the Character of *Augustus's* Legate or Ambassador.



Power, was this: As he constantly attended the Schools and Philosophical Auditories, a furious \*Squabble broke out one Day among the Disputants, in which there was not wanting a certain Person, who rail'd at him and abus'd him for thrusting himself into the Quarrel, and taking Part with the opposite Side: At this he slipp'd privately home, and returning immediately with his Officers, cited him into Court by the Crier, and commanded him to be carry'd off to Prison. Understanding now that his Wife *Julia* was condemn'd for her Lewdness and her Adulteries, and that a Divorce was sent her in his Name by the Authority of *Augustus*; tho' he was pleas'd at the News, he thought it became him, by frequent Letters to † interceed for her with her Father, as far as he was able, and to request him, that however she might have deserv'd, he wou'd allow her to enjoy whatever Presents of his were in her Hands. The Time of his Tribuneship being expir'd, he at length declar'd, that he design'd nothing in his Retirement, but to avoid the Jealousy of an Emulation with *Cains* and *Lucius*; and since he was now out of Danger of that, they being establish'd in their Interest, and well able to maintain themselves in their Power, he desir'd he might be permitted to come back and see his Friends, for whom he had an entire Affection. But it was refus'd him; and he was also advis'd not to give himself any Concern for those whom he had before deserted.

12. He continu'd therefore at *Rhodes* against his Will; having scarcely obtain'd by his Mother's Application,

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plication,

\* It was a common Thing for the Pedants, in their wrangling Disputations, to fly into the wildest Passion, and pelt one another with the most abusive Names and Language, and at last to come to downright Blows.

† Sect. 50. of this Life, Suetonius expressly contradicts this, and says, he never interceded for her, or made the least Motion in her Favour.

plication, that to cover over the Disgrace, he shou'd reside there as Ambassador from *Augustus*. 'Tis certain, he not only liv'd then as a private Person, but as one in a \* perpetual Apprehension and Fear, concealing himself in the middle of the Island, and shunning all Salutations of those who sail'd by the Coast, with which he was continually follow'd; for † no Commander in the Army, nor Magistrate pass'd along, but they touch'd at *Rhodes*. There were some Things also which gave him greater Disturbance. For going over to *Samos* to visit his Son-in-Law || *Caius*, who was made Ruler of the East, he perceiv'd his Mind was very much turn'd against him by the Insinuations of *M. Lollius*, his Companion and Governor. He was suspected also to have employ'd some Centurions, of his own making, who return'd to the Camp by the Time set in their Furloes, to disperse ambiguous Orders there, to sound the Soldiers Minds how they were dispos'd for an Insurrection. Being acquainted with this Suspicion by *Augustus*, he press'd incessantly, that some one of any Degree whatever might be appointed to oversee his Words and Actions.

13. He also discontinu'd his wonted Exercises of Riding and of Arms, and quitting his own \*\* Country

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\* Perhaps, knowing the Intrigues his Mother *Livia* was carrying on to secure the Succession to him, and the Dangers and Difficulties which attended such an Undertaking, and that *Augustus* had no Opinion in his Favour, he was in fear the Event might be fatal to him.

† This might be from a Belief, that by the Arts and Interest of *Livia*, *Tiberius* wou'd certainly succeed to the Empire upon *Augustus's* Death.

|| The Son of *Tiberius's* Wife *Julia*, by her former Husband *Agrippa*.

\*\* The Gown and Shoes. The Roman *Calceus*, or Shoe, reach'd up to the middle Leg, and was ty'd or lac'd on to the Leg and Foot before. The Toe ended in a Point sharp and bending;

try Habit, degraded himself to the † Cloke and Slippers. In this Condition he remain'd almost two Years, becoming every Day more contemptible and more hated, insomuch that the \* *Nemausenses* pull'd down his Images and his Statues; and happening to be mention'd at an Entertainment, one started up, and promis'd Caius, to sail immediately to Rhodes, if he wou'd order him, and bring away the Exile's Head, (for that was the Name they gave him.) At this, not so much his Timorousness, as the Dangers to which he saw he was expos'd, prompted him to use his own and his Mother's most importunate Intreaties for Leave to return; in which he succeeded, being assisted in some measure by an Accident. *Augustus* had fix'd his Resolution not to act any thing in this Affair without the Consent of *Tiberius's* eldest †† Son, who happening at this Juncture to be provok'd with *M. Lollius*, was the more easily inclin'd to be reconcil'd to *Tiberius*. Caius therefore agreeing to it, he was recall'd, but upon Condition, that he shou'd in no respect interpose in the Administration of the State.

14. And

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bending; and the Shoes of the Patricians had the Figure of a Crescent at the Extremity, resembling the Letter C, which is a Numeral, and standing for 100, signify'd their being descended from the Hundred Senators first constituted by *Romulus*. The Slaves wore no Shoes.

† The Cloke and Slipper were the Habit of the Greeks and other Nations: By using them *Tiberius* degraded himself from the Dignity of a Roman Noble to the mean Condition of a Foreigner.

\* The Inhabitants of the City *Nemausus* in Gaul.

†† Caius; he was *Tiberius's* Son-in-Law, tho' *Suetonius* calls him here his Son. *Lollius* was his Governor, and had once a wonderful Ascendant over him. But being at last charg'd home with universal Rapine and Corruption in the Eastern Provinces, Caius forsook him his Acquaintance; upon which *Lollius* poison'd himself.



14. And thus after a Recess of eight Years he came home, with great and not ill-grounded Hopes of his future Fortune, which had been infus'd into him from his Youth, both by Prodigies and Predictions. For when *Livia* was big with Child, she consulted several Omens to discover whether she shou'd have a Male Child ; and taking an Egg from under a Hen, which was sitting, she foster'd and kept it warm so long, sometimes in her own Hand, and sometimes in the Hands of her Women, till at last a Cock-Chick was hatch'd, with an extraordinary Comb. And *Scribonius*, the Astrologer, foretold very great Things of him while he was an Infant, *That he shou'd one Day come to reign, but without the X Regal Ensigns*, for the Power of the *Cæsars* was as then unknown. As he led the Army, in his first Expedition, thro' *Macedonia* into *Syria*, it happen'd that the Altars the \* *Victorious Legions* had consecrated at *Philippi*, blaz'd out of themselves with sudden Fires; and afterwards, as he was going to *Illyricum*, he repair'd to the Oracle of † *Geryon* near *Padua*, where he drew a  
Lot,

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X *The sacred Fire, the Diadem, &c. which were not introduc'd at Rome till the next Age.*

\* *The Legions which defeated Brutus and Cassius at Philippi.*

† *Geryon was King of three Islands, the Balears greater and less, (now call'd Majorca and Minorca,) and Ebusus, (now Yvica). Hence the Poets feign'd he had three Heads; that Hercules fought him and slew him, and brought away with him the noble Herds of Oxen, which Geryon took a great deal of Pleasure in Breeding.*

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postquam Laurentia Victor  
Geryone extincto, Tirynthius attigit arva,  
Tyrrhenoque boves in flumine lavit Iberos.

*Virg.*

For strong Alcides, after he had slain  
The triple Geryon, drove from conquer'd Spain  
His captive Herds, and thence in Triumph led;  
On Tuscan Tiber's flow'ry Banks he fed.

*Mr. Dryden.*

Lot, by which he was directed, for obtaining an Answer to his Inquiry, to cast a pair of Gold Dice into the Fountain of \*\* *Aponus*, he did so, and the highest Chance arose; and these Dice are still to be seen there at the bottom of the Water. A few Days before he was recall'd, an Eagle, which was a Bird never

*Tergemini nece Geryonis, spoliisque superbus.*

*Virg.*

*Th' avenging Force of Hercules, from Spain,  
Arriv'd in Triumph, from Geryon slain;  
Thrice liv'd the Giant, and thrice liv'd in vain.  
His Prize, the lowing Herds, Alcides drove  
Near Tiber's Bank, to graze the shady Grove.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

Virgil also makes him one of the Keepers of the Entrance of Hell.

——— *Forma tricorporis umbra.*

*Before the Passage horrid Hydra stand;  
And Briareus with all his Hundred Hands;  
Gorgons, Geryon with his triple-Frame,  
And vain Chimera vomits empty Flame.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

From this Geryon, on some Account or other, 'tis likely the Oracle receiv'd its Name.

\* A Fountain of Gallia Cisalpina, between Patavium and Ateste, fam'd for salutary Waters and for Divination. Claudius has wrote a Poem upon it.

*Fons, Antenoriæ vitam qui porrigis Urbi, &c.*

*Distinguish'd Fount, whose wholesome Streams convey  
To Padua Health, and chase ill Fate away;  
Voice to the Mute thy wondrous Pow'rs impart,  
And Phœbus' self inspires thee with his Art;  
For Numbers with successful Vows can tell,  
Th' unerring Skill of thy Prophetick Well.*

never seen at *Rhodes* before, settled upon the top of his House; and the Day before he was certain of his Return, as he was changing his Garments, his Tunick seem'd to be on Fire. At the same Time also he put *Thrasyllus*, the Astrologer, whom he had made his Confident, as being a Professor of profound Science and Wisdom, to the utmost proof of his Art; for as they were walking together on the Rocks, *Thrasyllus* seeing a Ship at a distance, assur'd him it wou'd bring him welcome News; and if the Event had fallen out contrary to his Prediction, *Tiberius* was determin'd to \* push him down, that very Moment, into the Sea, for an Impostor, and one undeserving to be intrusted with his Secrets.

15. Being return'd to *Rome*, and having introduc'd his Son *Drusus* into the *Forum*, he remov'd immediately from *Pompey's* House in the || *Carinae*, to the Gardens of *Mecænas* at †† *Esquilie*, where he resign'd himself intirely to his Ease, minding only private Affairs, and avoiding all publick Business. *Caius* and *Lucius* both dying within three Years, he was adopt-  
ed

\* Others say, *Tiberius* repenting his having communicated his Secrets so freely to *Thrasyllus*, to prevent any ill Consequences of it, resolv'd with himself to tumble him suddenly into the Sea, as they were walking together on the Cliffs: And that *Thrasyllus* came up to him that Day with a very dejected Countenance, and full of Concern; and *Tiberius* asking him why he look'd so sad, *Thrasyllus* answer'd, Because he was sensible he stood then on the Point of the utmost Danger of Life: *Tiberius* was surpris'd at the Answer, and chang'd his Mind.

|| Buildings in *Rome*, so call'd, *Servius* says, from being in the Form of a Keel of a Ship; in Latin, *Carina*.

†† *Rome* was divided into fourteen Regions, or Wards, of which the *Regio Esquilina* was the fifth: *Mecænas's* Gardens being situate in this Quarter, receiv'd their Name from thence.



ed by *Augustus*, together with their Brother *M. Agrippa*, being first oblig'd to adopt his Brother's Son *Germanicus*. After his Adoption, he never acted any thing as a Father, nor reserv'd to himself any Rights of which by the Adoption he was legally divested. For he neither made any † Doles, nor manumitted Slaves, nor accepted any Inheritance or Legacies, otherwise than as Settlements granted him by his Father. From this Time nothing was omitted which might add to his Greatness: More especially, when *Agrippa* being rejected, it was certain the Hope of Succession center'd in him alone.

16. The Tribunitial Authority was again conferr'd on him for five Years, and he was sent into *Germany* to compose the Troubles there. And the *Parthian* Ambassadors having had an Audience of *Augustus* at Rome, had Instructions to attend him also in his \* Province. But Advice coming of the Revolt of *Illyricum*, he set forward to undertake a new War, which was the most important of all the foreign Wars after the *Carthaginian*. He maintain'd it for three Years, with fifteen Legions and a like Number of Auxiliaries, under all manner of Difficulties, and an extreme Want of Provisions: And tho' Messages frequently arriv'd to recall him, he still push'd it on, being afraid lest the Enemy, who was potent and just at hand, wou'd insult him if he made a voluntary Retreat. This Perseverance of his receiv'd at last a noble Reward: For he conquer'd all *Illyricum* which lies between *Italy*, the Kingdom of *Noricum*, and *Thrace*, and *Macedonia*, and between the River *Danube* and the *Adriatick* Gulf.

17. The Glory of this Success, was wonderfully augmented by the Seasonableness of it. For about  
the

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† A Son while under his Father's Authority, cou'd neither make a Dole, nor manumit a Slave, without his Father's Permission.

\* Germany.

the same Time, *Quintilius Varus* was cut off in Germany with three Legions; and no Man doubted, but the victorious  *Germans* would have join'd with the *Pannonians*, if *Illyricum* had not been reduc'd before that Blow. For these Things a Triumph was decreed him, and many and great Honours. Some were also for having him surnam'd † *Pannonicus*, others *Invictus*, and others *Pius*: But *Augustus* interpos'd in this Affair, and assur'd them, *Tiberius* would rest satisfy'd with the Surname which he would transmit to him at his Death. He put off his Triumph, because the City was in deep Affliction for *Varus's* Overthrow: Yet he made his Entrance in the *Prætexta*, the Crown of Laurel, and a Seat being erected in the *Septa*, he went up to it, the Senate standing beside him, and sat down with *Augustus* \* between the two Consuls; and from hence, after he had paid his Compliment to the People, he was led in Form to all the Temples.

18. The next Year he return'd to Germany, and reflecting that *Varus's* Misfortune was owing to the Temerity and Negligence of the General, he acted nothing without the Approbation of his Council: And tho' at other Times he had †† depended wholly on his own Opinion, yet now, contrary to his former manner, he consulted with several upon the Disposition of the War; and was more strict in his Care than before. At his crossing the *Rhine*, he allow'd not the Baggage, which he had restrain'd to a certain Proportion, to be transported till he had examin'd the Waggon, as he stood on the Bank of the River, that nothing might be carry'd over which  
was

† It was a known Custom with the Romans, to give Names to their Generals from their Victories.

\* The most honourable Place.

†† *Tiberius*, according to *Plutarch*, was hasty in his Resolutions; for he says, it was *Augustus's* Character of him, that he never thought upon a Thing twice.

was not permitted or necessary. On the other side of the *Rhine*, his Manner of Life was to \* sit at Meat on bare Sods of Turf, and to sleep often in the open Air without a Tent. He gave out his Orders for the next Day, or concerning any sudden Affairs, in little Billets, adding, That if any Doubts arose, they shou'd make use of no Interpreter but himself; to whom they might repair at any Hour of the Night.

19. He observ'd a very rigorous Discipline, and reviv'd the antient Kinds of Punishments and Disgrace, branding even a Lieutenant of a Legion for \* sending a few Soldiers with his Freedman cross the River to hunt. Tho' he trusted as little as possible to the Caprices and Casualties of Fortune, yet he always fought when the Taper, which burn'd before him by Night, went out suddenly and of its own Accord, depending, as he said, upon an Omen, of which himself and his Ancestors, whenever they were in Command, had often seen the Certainty. Having finish'd the War with Success, he narrowly escap'd being kill'd by a certain † *Brueterian*, who being discover'd as he was lurking among his Attendants, by his Confusion and Trembling; and put to the Torture, confess'd the whole Design.

20. Returning to *Rome* from *Germany*, after two Years, he celebrated the Triumph which he had deser'd, accompany'd with his Lieutenants, for whom he also obtain'd the Honour of the Triumphal Ornaments.

\* *Contrary to the Roman Manner at Meals; which was, to lie at their Ease on tender Couches. But Tiberius, like the Leaders of Old, inur'd himself to the Roughness of a Soldier's Life, to become an Example of Hardiness and Vigilance to the whole Camp.*

\* *The Officer's Crime seems to be, the permitting his Men to go far meerly for their Diversion, at a Time when the Enemy was near at hand.*

† *The Brueterians were a People of Germany between the Rhine and Amasia.*



naments: Before he pass'd to the Capitol, he came down from his Chariot, and threw himself at the Feet of his Father, who then presided over the Assembly at this Procession. He bestow'd very rich Gifts on *Bato*, the *Pannonian* General, and sent him back to *Ravenna*, as a grateful Return for his generous Behaviour; because, when *Bato* had once, by the Advantage of the Ground, inclos'd him and his Army, he freely releas'd them, and let them march off. He entertain'd the People afterwards at a thousand Tables, and distributed a || Congiary among them of Three hundred Sesterces a Man. He also dedicated a Temple to *Concord* out of the Spoils, and to *Castor* and *Pollux* in † his own and his Brother's Name.

21. The Consuls not long after, passing a Law for him to share the Administration of the Provinces in Common with *Augustus*, and make the *Census* with him, he perform'd the *Lustrum*, and then set forward to *Illyricum*. And being immediately call'd back from his Journey, by Advice of *Augustus's* Sickness, he found him very dangerously Ill, tho' yet alive, and was in private with him a whole Day. I know it is generally believ'd, that, *Tiberius* being withdrawn after the secret Conference, those who waited in the Chamber over-heard *Augustus* say, *Miserum Populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit!* Miserable Romans! who will fall into such \* slow-grinding Jaws: Nor

|| A Distribution of Money among the People by the Emperor. When it was made to the Soldiers, it was call'd a *Donative*.

† To signify their mutual Affection and Agreement: *Castor* and *Pollux* being two Brothers, and having always the same Temple in common between them, and call'd by both their Names.

\* There is no Occasion to understand this of his being slow and tedious in his Resolutions, which contradicts what was observ'd concerning him from *Plutarch* in a former  
Note

Nor am I ignorant that some have reported, *Augustus* express'd his Dislike of his morose and sullen Temper so apparently, that if he was engag'd in a pleasant and familiar Conversation, he wou'd break it off upon *Tiberius's* coming into the Room; and that it was either the Importunity of his Wife which prevail'd on him to make the Adoption, or an \* Ambition to endear his own Memory the more by having such a Successor. But I can never be persuaded, so circumspect and prudent a Prince wou'd act any thing rashly, in an Affair particularly of such wonderful Importance. I am of Opinion, that having well consider'd his Vices and his Virtues, he judg'd his Virtues outweigh'd the others; especially since he declar'd upon Oath in an Oration, *That he adopt-ed him for the Good of the Commonwealth.* And he commends him in several Letters, as a perfect Master of the Art of War, and as the only Support of the Roman People: Of which I have added a few Instances, in Passages taken from some of the Letters. Farewel, my dear *Tiberius.* I wish thou may'st have Success, who art fighting for me and the † *Muses.* Farewel, and Heaven prosper

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*Note.* The Meaning is, that *Tiberius* was of so cruel a Temper, as to delight to make Persons lie a long Time in Torture, before they were put to Death. The same as *Claudian* says of *Rufinus*.

*A quick Dispatch the barb'rous Wretch denies,  
And a long Train of tedious Death enjoys.  
Racks, Dungeons, Chains and Tortures he prepares,  
And the wish'd Blow inhumanly defers.  
More dreadful than the Sword, such Grace to gain!  
Accurs'd Reprieve! to lengthen Life for Pain.*

\* *Tacitus* says, *Augustus* adopt-ed him only with this Design.

† Perhaps *Tiberius* carry'd on his Studies, and made Verses in the Camp.

prosper me, as I am sincere in my Wishes for thee, my dearest, most brave, and most accomplish'd General. And, ——— so admirable a Disposition of thy Summer Quarters. I am satisfy'd, my Tiberius, it is impossible for any Man under such numerous Difficulties, and serv'd with such listless and untractable Soldiers, to have order'd Things more prudently than Thou hast done. All who were with thee, acknowledge that Verse may be apply'd to thee,

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

One Man by Vigilance has sav'd the State.

Whether, says he, any Incident happens which requires a stricter Deliberation, or whether any Thing lies uneasy upon my Mind, I protest, I extremely miss my Tiberius; and those Lines of Homer occur to my Thoughts,

\* Τέτρα δ' εσπορεύοιο, καὶ ἐν πύρρῳ αἰδομένηοιο  
"Αμφοὺ νοσήσαμεν, ἐπεὶ περὶ οἶδ' εὖ νοήσα.

His wary Wisdom safely, if he goes,  
Shall bear us both thro' burning Flames and Foes.

When I hear and read how thou art harass'd with perpetual Labour, may I perish, if it does not fill me with Horror. I beseech thee, take Care of thy self; lest if we hear thou art in a languishing Condition, both I and thy Mother shou'd immediately expire, and the whole Empire be put to Hazard. It is nothing whether I am well or ill, if thou art not well. I pray the Gods to preserve thee to us, and to keep thee in Health both now and ever, if they have not quite abandon'd the Roman People.

22. He

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\* Part of the Speech of Diomedes in the tenth of the Ilias, who desires Ulysses may be join'd with him, on account of his Sagacity and Prudence, when he is going out to view the Trojan Camp.



22. He did not publish *Augustus's* Death till young \* *Agrippa* was slain. He was kill'd by a Military Tribune plac'd with him as his Keeper, who receiv'd a written Order to perform the Deed. 'Tis uncertain whether *Augustus* left this Warrant behind him, to prevent any Commotions after his Death, or whether *Livia* drew it in *Augustus's* Name with or without the Knowledge of *Tiberius*. When the Tribune came back and told him, *he had executed his Orders*, *Tiberius* reply'd, *he gave him no Orders*, and *that he shou'd answer it to the Senate*, only to avoid the Odium of the Thing at present; for he afterwards pass'd it by in Silence.

23. Having conven'd the Senate, by Virtue of his Tribunitial Power, and began an Oration of Condolance to them, he fetch'd a deep Sigh as overwhelm'd with Sorrow, and wishing not only his Voice, but his Life might also fail him, deliver'd his Paper to his Son *Drusus* to read it thro'. *Augustus's* Will was then produc'd, and no Witnesses being admitted into the House but who were of the † Senatorian Order, the rest acknowledging their Signings without, he caus'd it to be read by his Freedman. It began thus, *Forasmuch as my inauspicious Fortune has snatch'd from me my two Sons, Caius and Lucius, I make Tiberius Cæsar my Heir of two Thirds of my Estate*. This confirm'd them in their Suspicion, who believ'd that *Augustus* appointed him his Successor rather out of Necessity than Judgment, since he cou'd not forbear to open his Will with such a Preface.

24. Tho' he made no Scruple immediately to assume the Imperial Power, and to exert it, and to take Possession of the Military Guards, the very Marks of Sovereignty, yet he most impudently refus'd,

\* The Son of his Wife *Julia*, by her former Husband *Agrippa*.

† This was done from a pretended Respect to the Senate, to ingratiate himself into their Favour.

fus'd, for a long time, to accept the Style ; reproving his Friends, who press'd him to it, as not knowing what a Wild Beast the Empire was ; and by his ambiguous and crafty Answers holding the Senate in Suspence, when they entreated him, and even threw themselves at his Knees ; insomuch that some were out of Patience with him, and one call'd out to him in a Tumult which happen'd about it, *Either let him take it, or leave it* : And another told him to his Face, *Others were slow to perform what they had promis'd, but he was slow to promise what he had perform'd*. At length, he accepted it, as if he were overborne by Force, and complaining they impos'd upon him a miserable and burdensome Slavery ; pretending also, he did it meerly in hope he shou'd be able one Day or other to lay it down. His Words were these ; *Till the Time shall come, when you shall think fit to allow my Old Age some Ease*.

25. The Reason of his Delay, was the Fear of the Dangers which threatned him on every Side ; and therefore he often said, *he held a Wolf by the Ears*. For Agrippa's Slave, \* *Clemens* by Name, had drawn together no contemptible Number of Men to revenge his Master's Death ; and † *L. Scribonius Libo*, a Noble-

\* Upon the Death of Augustus, he design'd to have brought off his Master from the Island where he was banish'd ; but finding him murder'd before his Arrival, he some Time after undertook to personate him, and gave himself out for Agrippa, pretending the Gods had miraculously preserv'd his Life. Tiberius got two trusty Fellows to go over to him, and insinuate themselves into his Service ; who watching their Opportunity, seiz'd him one Night, and carry'd him to Rome, where he was executed privately.

† The Story is at large in Tacitus, and is a full Proof of the Cunning of Tiberius, and the Corruption of those Times. The Summ of it is this : *Catus*, a Senator, designing

Nobleman, was forming secret Designs against him; and a \* Sedition of the Soldiers broke out in *Illyricum*, and another in *Germany*. The Troops in both Places demanding several Things which were unprecedented; and above all, the Army in *Germany* insisted on having their Pay made equal to that of the Pretorian Bands. Some of them also rejected a Prince who was not appointed by themselves, and with the utmost Importunity solicited *Germanicus*, who was then their Commander, to undertake the Government, tho' he inflexibly oppos'd it. This being the Thing *Tiberius* chiefly dreaded, he request-ed he might have only such a † Part of the Administration allotted him as the Senate thought proper, since it wou'd be impossible for a single Person to sustain the Whole, without one or more to assist him. He pretended himself also to be sickly and indispos'd, that *Germanicus* might wait the more contentedly in Expectation of succeeding very shortly, or, at least, of being taken into a Share of the Government.

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*signing to make a Merit with Tiberius by sacrificing Libo, who was an inconsiderate young Man, engag'd him in several Extravagances and obnoxious Actions, and at last inform'd the Emperor against him. Tiberius manag'd the Affair with the deepest Subtily: He wou'd not take the Cause into his own Hands, but caus'd him to be arraign'd before the Senate, affecting all the Time a wonderful Air of Impartiality and Justice. Libo seeing his Ruin unavoidable, stabb'd himself in his own House in Despair, before his Tryal.*

\* It was set on Foot by Percennius, a Fellow belonging to the Theatre; and was with much Difficulty appeas'd by 'Tiberius's Son Drusus, whom his Father sent thither on purpose.

† He thought this wou'd be less provoking to *Germanicus*, than to take full Possession of the whole Empire; and both this Expedient, and the other of feigning himself in ill Health, were design'd to make *Germanicus* easy.



vernment. The Seditions being suppress'd, he also got †† *Clemens* by a Stratagem betray'd into his Power. And, not to proceed to Severities at the Beginning of his Reign, it was not till his second Year that he accus'd *Libo* in the Senate, contenting himself in the mean time with keeping a strict Eye upon him, and using Precaution. Accordingly as *Libo* was sacrificing once among the Priests, he caus'd a || Leaden Knife to be deliver'd him instead of a Steel one, and wou'd not allow him a private Conference when he ask'd it, but with his Son *Drusus* in Company; and as they walk'd, he held him by the Right-hand, as if it were to lean upon him, during the whole Discourse.

26. Being at length \* freed from his Fears, he liv'd at first like a common Citizen of *Rome*, and little above the Condition of a private Person; and of many and magnificent Honours, he accepted only few, and such as were moderate. His Birth-Day happening to fall at the Time of the \* *Plebeian Games* in the *Circus*, he wou'd not suffer more than a single Chariot of one Pair of Horses to be added in Honour of it, to the usual Number. He forbade Temples, Flamens, and Priests to be decreed him, and Statues and Images to be erected him, unless by his own express Permission; and he permitted them only upon Condition they shou'd not be plac'd † among

†† See the Notes Pag. 190.

|| For fear he shou'd attempt to stab him.

\* He was afraid *Germanicus*, or some other, shou'd have disputed the Empire with him; but at length seeing no Body appear against him, he laid aside those uneasy Apprehensions.

\* Games celebrated in Commemoration of the People's obtaining their Liberty upon the Expulsion of the Kings, or for some other remarkable Event to their Advantage.

† among those of the Gods, but among the common Decorations of the Building. He interceded also, that they wou'd not oblige themselves to his Acts by Oath; That the Month *September* might not be call'd *Tiberius*, and *October* *Livius*; and refus'd the Titles of *Imperator* and *Father of his Country*, and the Honour of having the Civic Crown hung up in the Porch of his Palace. Nor did he give himself the Name of *Augustus*, tho' it was \* hereditary to him, unless in his Epistles to Kings and Princes. He held but three Consulships; one only for a few Days, another three Months, and the third till the †† Ides of *May*, being then at a Distance from the City.

27. || Adulations and extravagant Complements were so much his Aversion, that he wou'd suffer no Senator, either out of Respect, or on account of Business, to attend him as he was carry'd in his Litter. And a Consular Man coming to beg pardon of him for some Offence, and endeavouring to throw himself at his Knees, he started back to prevent him so hastily, that he tumbled flat on the Ground. If any one spoke very flattery and tender Things of him in common Discourse, or in an Oration, he never scrupled to interrupt and check him, and

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make

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† Caligula was so far from this Complaisance, that he insolently took Place of the Gods, and even of Jupiter himself, whom he treated very roughly. But Tiberius, tho' he had not more Virtue, had far more Discretion than his Successor. For as he was sensible he came to the Empire with the Disadvantage of an unpopular and blemish'd Character, he craftily practis'd these Instances of dissembled Descency and Self-Denial, that he might not increase the Publick Aversion.

\* See Page 184.

†† May 15th.

|| After the Example of Augustus, from whom he had learn'd this Part of Political Behaviour. See p. 105.

make him recall them immediately. A certain Person terming him LORD, he charg'd him not to make a Jest of him again: And one styling his Employments Sacred, and another saying, *His Power had brought him into the Senate*, he oblig'd them to change the Words, and instead of *Power* to say *Advice*, and for *Sacred*, *Laborious*.

28. On the contrary, under \* Reproaches, scandalous Rumours, and defamatory Verses upon himself and his Family, he was unmov'd and patient; and even declar'd, *That in a free City, Mens Tongues and Thoughts ought to be free*. And when the Senate were earnest with him to have such sort of Crimes, and the Authors of them animadverted on, † *We have not so much Leisure, says he, upon our Hands, as to involve our selves in a Multitude of Business*. If you shou'd once open this Door, you will be able to transact nothing else: For, under this Pretence, every Man's personal Resentments will be brought before you to be heard. There is extant also an Expression of his to the Senate, extremely handsome. If any Person, says he, shall speak against me, I will endeavour to give a just Account of my Words and Actions: If he persists after that, I will be even with him, and hate him again.

29. This

\* This was another Lesson in Politicks, which Tiberius plainly took from Augustus. See Pag. 106, 107.

† The Reason Tiberius here assigns against such a Proposal, is very just. When a Prince begins to tyrannize and oppress, it is impossible but the Passions of the People will find a Vent: To oppose them fiercely in every little Instance, will only enrage them. And by opening a Court of this Nature, Tiberius wou'd have oblig'd himself to make the Quarrels of private Persons his own: For when Men know where to make their Complaints be heard, every little Disgust in common Life, will be soon magnify'd into a publick Concern; and a thousand trifling Differences push'd to Extremity, which wou'd otherwise die away, and be never remember'd.



29. This Behaviour was the more remarkable in him, because in the Titles and Respect he gave to particular Men, and to all in general, he himself \* exceeded almost all Bounds of Civility and Complaisance. Thus happening to be of a different Opinion in the Senate from † Q. Haterius, *You will pardon me*, says he, *if as a Senator I oppose you somewhat freely*; and then addressing himself to the whole House: *I have often said, and I repeat it, that a good and useful Prince, whom, Fathers, you have endow'd with so large and unrestrain'd a Power, ought to make himself the Servant of the Senate, and many times of the whole Body of the Citizens, and even of every private Person: Nor do I repent that I said it, having always found you, as you still continue to be, good, and just, and indulgent Lords.*

30. He reviv'd also a certain Appearance and Shew of Liberty, preserving to the Senate and the Magistrates, their antient Majesty and Power. Nor was there any Affair, either publick or private, so little or so great, but it was referr'd to the Senators: The Taxes, the Monopolies, the raising or repairing of Works, and even the †† levying and disband-

K 2

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\* *The same Cunning which made him avoid receiving such himself, induc'd him to bestow them upon others. These little Decencies of Deportment and Expression, and the keeping up an insignificant Form of Freedom and Authority in the several Parts of the State, soften'd the Spirits of Men, and help'd to deceive them, while he was covertly drawing all real Power and Dominion into his own Hands.*

† *A celebrated Orator.*

†† *To deliver up to the Senate absolutely, the Management of the publick Taxes, the Regulation of the Army, and the Creating the Military Officers, wou'd have invest'd them with the Administration and Sovereignty in the most important Branches of it; and therefore we must understand this only to signify, that in some inconsiderable Points,*

ing the Soldiers, and the Quartering of the Legions and the Auxiliaries; in a Word, the prolonging Commissions, and appointing Generals for extraordinary Wars, were all determin'd by them; and they gave Directions as they thought proper, what Answers shou'd be return'd to the Letters of Kings and Princes, and in what Form. And a Prefect of the Wing being accus'd of Oppression and Rapine, he oblig'd him to bring the Cause \* before the Senate. He never enter'd the House, but † alone; and being carry'd thither once in a Chair, because he was indispos'd, he discharg'd his Attendants, and sent them off at the Door.

‡1. He made no manner of Complaint, when several Things were †† decided contrary to his Opinion.

*Points, Tiberius permitted them perhaps a real Power, and complimented them with a Form of Authority in the more material; allowing Things to pass under their Name, while in Truth they were determin'd by him.*

\* *At the Seige of Veii, Camillus made a Military Law, that the Soldiers Causes shou'd be decided in a Court Martial.*

*Bardiacus iudex datur hæc punire volenti, &c.  
Juv. Sat. 16.*

*A booted Judge shall sit to try his Cause,  
Not by the Statute, but by Martial Laws,  
Which old Camillus order'd, to confine  
The Brawls of Soldiers to the Trench and Line.  
A wise Provision: And from thence 'tis clear,  
That Officers a Soldier's Cause shou'd hear.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

† *That he might not seem to over-awe the House in their Resolutions, by coming accompany'd with a numerous Train.*

†† *Tertullian gives a remarkable Instance of this. Tiberius mov'd in the Senate, that our SAVIOUR might be added to the Number of their Gods, and voted for it; but the House rejected it, and he submitted.*

nion. Thus, tho' he had declar'd no Magistrates ought to be absent from their Posts, that by residing on the Spot they might the better execute their Charge, the Pretor Elect obtain'd a \* free Ambassy. Also when he mov'd to have the Money which was left by Will to the *Trebian*s for erecting a new Theatre, employ'd in repairing the Ways, he cou'd not prevail, but the Will of the Testator was confirm'd. And when in a Division of the House, which happen'd upon a certain Decree, he went over to the Side which had the smallest Number, no Body follow'd him. All other Matters also were transacted by the proper Magistrates, and according to usual Forms of Law ; and the Power of the Consuls was so great, that the Ambassadors from *Africa* apply'd themselves to them, complaining, *Cæsar*, to whom they were sent, delay'd them. Nor is there any thing surprizing in this, since it was well known, he us'd to rile up to the Consuls, and to give them the Way.

32. He reprimanded the Consular Men who had the Conduct of the Army, for not † sending Advice of their Transactions to the Senate ; and for referring the Disposal of some particular Military Premiums to him, as if they had not Power to appoint them all. He commended the Pretor, because at his entering on his Office, he had reviv'd the antient Custom of celebrating his Ancestors in an Oration. He attended the Funerals of Illustrious Men even to the Pile ; and shew'd a like Respect both to meaner

K 3

Persons

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\* This seems to be merely an Honorary Employment, which gave him an Opportunity to be absent in the Countries to which he was nominated Ambassador or Legate, on any Occasions of his own ; which wou'd otherwise have been unlawful, the Pretor being a City-Officer.

† A Point of Duty and Respect ; by which they own'd the Authority of the Senate, and seem'd to leave it with them to issue Instructions to them from Time to Time.



Persons and Things. When he summon'd the *Rhodian* Magistrates before him, for sending a publick Letter without a \* Subscription to him, he only order'd them to subscribe it, and dismiss'd them without so much as an angry Word. *Diogenes* the Grammarian, who us'd to dispute at *Rhodes* every *Saturday*, had refus'd to admit him, when he came to hear him out of the usual Hours, and sent a pitiful Slave of his to put him off to † that Day Se'nnight ; yet when he was waiting before the Palace-Gate at *Rome* to pay his Salutation to him, *Tiberius* went no farther than to desire him to come again at seven Years End. The Governors of the Provinces advising him to load them with Tribute, he wrote them back Word, That it was the Duty of a good Shepherd to shear his Sheep, not to flea them.

33. He exerted the Princely Power by Degrees ; and tho' it was with great Variety, yet it was generally for the Publick Good. At first he interpos'd no farther than to prevent Male Practices and Corruptions. Therefore he repeal'd several Constitutions of the Senate, and frequently offer'd himself as †† Council to the Magistrates upon Trials,  
|| sit-

\* The Antients setting their Names at the Beginning, and not after the Modern Way, at the Close of the Letter ; this cannot mean, they had omitted to sign their Names, but signifies rather, their not concluding with the usual Valedictory Expressions of good Wishes and Respect.

† The Reprimand of *Tiberius* turning upon the Number Seven, (Seven Years for Seven Days) the Reader will excuse the Use of our English Expression, that Day seven-night, or se'nnight ; which, 'tis confess'd, wou'd otherwise be improper in a Roman Author : But the Convenience of it here is obvious

†† To make himself Popular, by affecting a wonderful Regard to see Justice exactly administer'd.

|| sitting promiscuously among them, or over against them, upon an upper Bench. And if it was rumour'd at any time, that a guilty Person was going to be acquitted by Favour, he was in the Court in an Instant, and either standing below, or from the Quæstor's Seat, reminded the Judges of the Laws, and the Obligations they were under from their Oath, and the Nature of the Crime then before them. And if any Depravity in Manners had crept in by Negligence or ill Customs, he undertook to see it reform'd.

34. He restrain'd the Expences of Games and Shews, by lessening the Allowance of the Players, and \* reducing the Matches of Gladiators to a certain Number. Being extremely displeas'd at the prodigious Price to which Corinthian Vessels were rais'd, and that three † Barbels shou'd be sold for

K 4

† thirty

|| He wou'd not turn the Judge of the Court out of his Seat, but plac'd himself where-ever there happen'd to be Room, that he might seem so wholly intent on assisting them to do Justice, as intirely to neglect his own Dignity, by taking up with any ordinary inferiour Seat.

\* A Law was made to this Effect in the Time of Julius Cæsar, (see p. 6.) which was either expir'd, or repeal'd; and this of Tiberius was also neglected by some succeeding Emperors.

† Seneca tells a pleasant Story of Tiberius's sending a large Mullet which was presented him, into the Market to be sold, I'll lay my Life now, says he, either Apicius or Octavius buys the Fish. He guess'd justly: For those two Gluttons were immediately dealing for it, and bid upon one another so extravagantly, that at last it cost Octavius, who was resolv'd to carry it, Five Thousand Sesterces. Crispinus also in Juvenal, is branded for the same expensive Luxury:

———— Mullum sex millibus emit,  
Æquantem sane paribus sestertia libris. Sat. 4.

Six Thousand Pieces for one Fish he paid,  
A Thousand just for ev'ry Pound it weigh'd.

† thirty Thousand Sesterces, he propos'd to have the Charges of Furniture restrain'd by a Law ; and that the Rates in the Market shou'd be fix'd every Year, at the Discretion of the Senate, the Ediles being injoin'd to prohibit Victualling-Houses and Taverns so strictly, that they shou'd not suffer even Bakers-Shops. And to encourage publick Parsimony by his own Example, he often caus'd the Remainders of the former Day, to be serv'd up at an Entertainment with half a \* Boar, saying, *There was as much Goodness in the Parts, as in the Whole.* He forbid in an Edict, the daily †† Salutes by Kissing ; and that the Custom of making New-Years-Gifts shou'd continue after the Kalends of January were pass'd. He had

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† 750 Crowns.

\* *A celebrated Dish with the Romans, who us'd to have a whole one set to Table at once at their Entertainments.*

————flavi dignus ferro Meleagri  
Fumat aper, &c. Juv. Sat. 5.

*A Boar entire, and worthy of the Sword  
Of Meleager, smoaks upon the Board.*

Mr. Bowles.

Juvenal in his first Satire exposes a gluttonous Nobleman, for having a Boar dress'd for himself alone.

————Quanta est gula, quæ sibi totos  
Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum ?

*Prodigious Throat ! for which whole Boars are dress'd,  
A Creature form'd to furnish out a Feast.*

Mr. Dryden.

†† Casaubon thinks that Tiberius, who was of a morose Temper, esteeming it beneath him to pay or receive this familiar Ceremony of Salutation, suppress'd it in general, lest if he alone refus'd it, he shou'd be thought unnatural and proud.



had us'd to give Presents with his own Hand, four times as much as he receiv'd: But not liking that he was broken in upon thro' the whole Month, by those who cou'd not gain Admission the first Day of the new Year, he laid down the Custom.

35. He empower'd the next Relations to punish in private among themselves, according to the antient Manner, such Matrons as were guilty of Adultery, and were not publickly arraign'd; and acquitted a Roman Knight from his Oath not to discharge his Wife, and allow'd him to divorce her, upon his taking her in Uncleanness with her Son-in Law. The scandalous Women had brought up a Practice of professing themselves Prostitutes, that they might divest themselves of the Rights and Dignity of \* Matrons, and thereby avoid the Penalties of the Laws. And the profligate Youth of either † Order had voluntarily degraded themselves, that they might not be restrain'd by the Decree of the Senate from performing among the Gladiators and Players. All these he banish'd, that none might for the future protect themselves from the Laws, by such Subterfuges and Elusions. And he depriv'd a Senator of the Habit, because he understood he withdrew into the Country just at the \* Kalends of July, that after they were past, he might have a House in the City at a lower Rent. He also remov'd another from the Questorship, because the Day after his Nomination

K 5

to

\* *Matrons were Women of Honourable Rank, or Gentlewomen. The Rights of Matrons were the Use of the Stole, and the Habit of the Roman Gentry. The Lewd Women were prohibited the Stole, and were oblig'd to wear a Gown, to distinguish themselves; like the modern Courtesans in Italy.*

† *Of the Knights or Senators.*

\* *The first of July was Quarter-Day with the Romans; at that Time they retir'd to their Country Villa's, which made Houses let for less Rent in the City.*

to his Office, he repudiated his Wife whom he had marry'd the Day before.

36 All foreign Rites of Religion, as the \**Ægyptian* and *Jewish*, he suppress'd; constraining such as follow'd those Superstitions, to burn their sacred Garments with all their consecrated Furniture. And under a Pretence of listing them for Soldiers, he dispers'd the *Jewish* Youth into Provinces which had an unhealthful Air, and banish'd the rest of that Nation,  
or

\* *Augustus seems to have had the same Prejudice against the Ægyptian and Jewish Worship, if what Suetonius tells us Page 140, may be rely'd on. The Reason of his Aversion to the latter, is given there in the Note: And perhaps the ridiculous Deities of Ægypt, which were Brutes and inanimate Things, occasion'd his Contempt of the former. For tho' the Romans were stupid enough to idolize Men and Women, and make Gods of their Emperors; yet the sordid Superstition of the Ægyptians, in setting up Birds, Beasts, Fishes, and even Garden-Herbs for Divinities, was so extravagantly foolish, that it provok'd their Derision. And Juvenal in his fifteenth Satire lashes them for it severely.*

*Quis nescit Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens  
Ægyptus portenta colat? &c.*

*How Ægypt mad with Superstition grown,  
Makes Gods of Monsters, but too well is known.  
One Sect Devotion to Nile's Serpent pays,  
Others to Ibis that on Serpents preys.*

*Fish-Gods you'll meet, with Fins and Scales o'ergrown;  
Diana's Dogs ador'd in ev'ry Town;  
Her Dogs have Temples, but the Goddess none.* }

*'Tis mortal Sin an Onion to devour;  
Each Clove of Garlick is a sacred Pow'r.  
Religious Nations sure, and blest Abodes,  
Where ev'ry Garden is o'er-run with Gods!*

Mr. Tate.

or their Profelytes, from the City, under the Penalty of perpetual Bondage. He also expell'd the \* Astrologers ; but upon their petitioning, and engaging to renounce their Art, he forgave them.

37. Above all, he was careful to preserve the Peace from being violated by Pillagers and Robbers, and by Seditions. He augmented the Number of Garrisons throughout *Italy*, and form'd a † Guard-House at *Rome* to lodge the Pretorian Cohorts, who lay scatter'd up and down before in the publick Inns. Popular Tumults he punish'd with the last Severity, and us'd the strictest Caution to prevent them. A Murder being committed in a Quarrel at the Theatre, he banish'd the Heads of the †† Factions, and the Players upon whose Account the Scuffle arose ; nor cou'd he be prevail'd upon by any Intreaties of the People to recall them. The Inhabitants of \* *Pollentia* having refus'd to let the Body of a certain Centurion be carry'd out of the Forum, till they had extorted Money from the Heirs to furnish a Match of Gladiators, he caus'd a Cohort to advance

\* Not from any Dislike of their Art ; for he consulted it very much before his Accession to the Empire ; and in his Recess at *Caprea*, he spent his Time wholly in practising with Fortune-Tellers and Wizards. But he banish'd them now from *Rome*, that the People might not be dealing with them about the Event of his Government, or the Period of his Life, and other Matters of State.

† That the Troops being collected together in a Body, might be more ready at Hand to suppress Insurrections.

†† The Spectators us'd to interest themselves on different Sides, at the Games of the Theatre and the Circus ; and the opposite Parties disputed so fiercely for the Champions and Players they favour'd, that they often came to Blows.

\* A Town in *Gallia Cisalpina*, on the River *Tanarus*.



advance from *Rome*, and another from † *Cotius's* Kingdom, who dissembling the Occasion of their March, shew'd their Arms on a sudden, and sounding a Charge, rush'd into the Town at several Gates, and the greater Part of the People and the Magistrates he imprison'd for Life. He abolish'd the X Privileges of Asylums in all Parts, and put a Stop to the Custom of erecting them. The †† *Cyziceni*ans having acted some Outrages against the *Roman* Citizens, he publicly divested them of their Liberty, which they had obtain'd by their good Services in the *Mithridatic* War. Whatever hostile Commotions arose after this, he never went in Person to suppress them, but employ'd his Lieutenants; and even that was after much Delay, and only in Cases of Necessity. The Kings who were disaffected, and of whom he had a Jealousy, he kept in Subjection rather by Threats and Remonstrances, than by Force; and some he drew to *Rome* by Promises and Flatteries, and never suffer'd them to return; as *Marabodus* the German,

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† *A small Country of Cisalpine Gaul towards the West. It was invaded by Augustus; but Cotius made so brave a Defence against the Roman Power, that Augustus not being able to conquer him, accepted him for an Ally.*

X *The multiplying Places of Protection, became an Encouragement to all manner of Criminals to act their Villanies boldly. It was a wise and popular Thing, to remove so general an Inconvenience, which was increasing every Day. Tacitus says, Tiberius did not entirely suppress these Asylums, but put them under Regulations, and reduc'd the Number. The History is at large in Tacitus, An. B. 3.*

†† *The Inhabitants of Cyzicum, or Cyzicus, a City of Mysia minor, famous for Luxury. In the War with Mithridates, they held out a Siege very resolutely, till the Romans came to their Relief; for which Merit they were made a free City.*

*German, Thrascypolis the Thracian, and Archelaus the Cappadocian, whose Kingdom he also reduc'd into a Province.*

38. For two Years together after he came to the Empire, he never stirr'd out of the City-Gates; and afterwards he us'd to go no farther than to the neighbouring Towns, and at farthest to *Antium*, and this very seldom, and only for a few Days; tho' he often gave out, that he wou'd review the Provinces and the Armies, and made Preparations for a Progress every Year, providing Carriages, and causing Provisions to be laid in ready at the Municipal Towns and Colonies. Nay, he even permitted Vows to be offer'd up for his safe Journey and Return; and was at last in Derision call'd *Callipides*, which is a *Greek* Proverb, to signify a Person who is continually in Motion, and yet never stirs a Step from the Place.

39. But being depriv'd of both his Sons, of whom *Germanicus* dy'd in *Syria* and *Drusus* at *Rome*, he made a Retirement to *Campania*. And it was the fix'd \* Opinion, and the Discourse almost of all Men, that he wou'd never return, and wou'd very suddenly meet his Death; in both which Points they were not much deceiv'd. For he came back to *Rome* no more; and as he was feasting a few Days after near † *Terracina*, in a *Villa* call'd *The Cave*, a great many large Stones happen'd to fall down from the Ceiling and

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\* Tho' such popular Conjectures have often very little Foundation, yet if the Impressions are strong on the Minds of the People, they readily interpret every indifferent Accident in Favour of their Opinion. But the great Preparations *Tiberius* made for this Retirement, and his solemn Disposition of Affairs before his Departure, might plainly argue a Design to be absent a considerable Time: And his Oppressions and Tyranny might very reasonably make them imagine, some Conspiracy or other wou'd soon be form'd against him, and shorten his Days.

† A Town of Italy, also call'd *ANAGNIN*.

and flew several of the Guests and the Servants, himself escaping beyond Expectation.

40. Having travell'd over *Campania*, and dedicated the † Capitol at *Capua*, and the Temple of *Augustus* at *Nola*, which he pretended was the Occasion of his Journey, he withdrew to *Capreae*; being particularly pleas'd with the Island, because it was accessible only by one narrow Haven; and was encompass'd with rugged Rocks of an immense Height, and with a very deep Sea. The earnest Prayers of the People immediately recalling him, on Account of a lamentable Accident at † *Fidenæ*, where above twenty Thousand Persons were destroy'd by the Fall of an Amphitheatre at a Shew of Gladiators, he pass'd over to the Continent, and admitted every one to his Presence; the rather, because at his Departure from the City, he had forbid by an Edict any Man to break in upon him, and wou'd see no Company in his Journey.

41. Being return'd to the Island, he so intirely abandon'd the Care of the State, that he never afterwards fill'd up the Decuries of the Knights, nor chang'd the Tribunes and Prefects of the Army, nor the Governors of the Provinces. He left *Spain* and *Syria* for some Years without Consular Presidents, and suffer'd *Armenia* to be seiz'd by the *Parthians*, *Mæsia* by the *Daci* and the *Sarmatians*, and both the *Gauls* to be wasted by the *Germans*, to the inexpressible Dishonour and Danger of the Empire.

42. In a Word, finding himself now in secret, and as it were at a Distance from the Eyes of the City, he let loose at once all those Vices he had a long Time ill dissembled; of which I shall give a particular Relation. At his first coming to the Army,

† A Temple erected there, in Imitation of the celebrated Capitol at Rome.

‡ A Town on the Tiber, at a small Distance from Rome.



Army, for his excessive Love of Wine, he was call'd  
 \* *Biberius* instead of *Tiberius*; instead of *Claudius*,  
 † *Caldius*; and †† *Mero* instead of *Nero*. And when  
 he was Emperor, even while he was reforming the  
 Publick Manners, he spent two whole Days and a  
 Night in rioting and drinking with *Pomponius Flaccus*  
 and \* *L. Piso*; the first of whom he presently made  
 Governor of the Province of *Syria*, and the other  
 Prefect of the City; stiling them also in their Patents,  
*his dearest Companions, and his Bosom-Friends*. He in-  
 vited himself to Supper with *Sestius Gallus*, a lecherous  
 and extravagant old Fellow, who was formerly brand-  
 ed by *Augustus*, and whom he had himself but a few  
 Days before reprimanded in the Senate, and made  
 him engage he wou'd neither change nor abridge  
 any Thing in his usual Manner of Entertaining, and  
 that they shou'd be waited on by naked Girls. He  
 prefer'd a very obscure Person to the Questorship  
 before the noblest Candidates, because when he  
 drank to him once at Table, he took off a whole  
 -|- *Amphora* at a Pull. He gave *Affellius Sabinus* Two  
 Hundred Thousand Sesterces for a Dialogue, in  
 which

\* From *biho*, to drink.

† 'Tis likely from the Word *caldus*, the same as *cali-*  
*us*, hot; to signify his drinking strong Liquors.

†† From *Merum*, Wine.

\* Seneca says, this *Piso* was a finish'd Sot; that he  
 ply'd the Flaggon hard all Night, and never rose till  
 Noon; and yet, which is very uncommon, notwithstanding  
 his Debaucheries, he was an excellent Governor, and dis-  
 charg'd his Office perfectly well.

-|- A large Vessel with two Handles, from whence it  
 had the Name. It is said to contain about nine Gallons  
 of liquid Measure; but it being plainly impossible for any  
 Man to take off such a Quantity at a Draught, it will  
 be necessary to understand this of the *Amphora* of dry  
 Measure, which was smaller, and according to *Budæus*,  
 held two Pints.

which he introduc'd the Mushroom and the Fig-Pecker, the Oyster and the Thrush disputing together. Lastly, he instituted a new Office of Master of his Pleasures, which he bestow'd on T. *Cæsonius Priscus*, a Roman Knight.

43. At his Recess in *Capreae*, he invented a secret Apartment for acting private Lusts ; where having drawn together a Number of Girls and Catamites, and Devils of monstrous Conjunctions whom he call'd \* *Spintriae*, they were plac'd in three Rows, and defil'd themselves mutually before him, to awaken his languid Appetite with the Sight. He had also Chambers variously contriv'd, which he furnish'd with the most lascivious Pictures and Figures, and with the Books of † *Elephantus*, that no one might want a proper Pattern to instruct him in the lewd Action he order'd him to perform. He provided Scenes of Venery also in the Woods and Groves, where the Youth of both Sexes prostituted themselves in Dens and Caverns of the Rocks, in the Habit of Nymphs and little *Pans*. Hence, in Allusion to the common Name of the Island, the People now openly call'd him †† *Caprincus*.

44. But he was inflam'd with a Passion yet more prodigious and vile, which is scarcely fit to be related or heard, and is almost beyond Belief. As that he train'd up Boys very young, whom he call'd little Fishes, to play about between his Thighs, and to fasten with their Mouths ; and even took sturdy Infants not yet wean'd from the Breast, and employ'd them in the same Service ; for both his Nature and Age inclin'd him most to this execrable Lust. Where-

\* Perhaps from the Greek Word *σπιντρις*, a Spark ; because they made it their Business to invent and inflame abominable Lusts.

† A scandalous Author, who wrote upon the most obscene Subjects.

†† From *Caper*, a Goat.

Wherefore when one of *Parrhasius's* Paintings, in which *Atalanta* was drawn acting thus with *Meleager*, was left him for a Legacy, with a Proviso that if the Subject offended him, he might receive \* Ten Hundred Thousand Sesterces instead of it, he not only chose the Picture, but even hung it up in his Bed-Chamber. 'Tis said also, that he was so smitten once as he was sacrificing, with the Face of the Lad who held the Censer, that he cou'd not forbear, but almost before the Rites were well finish'd, he took him aside, and immediately debauch'd him and his Brother who play'd the Pipe; and afterwards broke both their Legs, because they upbraided each other with the Shame.

45. How excessively he was wont to abuse Women, and even those of Quality, appears evidently by the Case of one *Mallonia*; who was brought to him by his Pimps, and absolutely refusing to gratify him farther in his detested Demands, he suborn'd Fellows to accuse her before him, and was continually asking her at the Trial, *Whether she did not repent it?* till at last she broke out of Court, and ran Home and stabb'd herself; having first openly reproach'd the beastly old Leacher with his Obscenity. Hence in the † *Atellanic Interlude* at the next Games, a Satirical Reflection, which was wonderfully applauded, flew about among the People, *Hircum vetulum capreis naturam ligurire.*

46. He was very sparing and niggardly in parting with Money, never allowing a Salary to those who attended him in his Expeditions and Travels, but only finding them their Diet. Yet by the Instigation of his Father-in-Law, he perform'd one Act of Liberality;

\* 25000 Crowns.

† A Sort of obscene and satirical Farce, play'd at the End of Comedies. It was invented by the Inhabitants of Atella, a City of Campania, who were noted for Lasciviousness.



Liberality; When having divided his Train into three Classes, according to every one's Quality, he gave \* Six Hundred Thousand Sesterces to the first, to the second † Four Hundred Thousand, and †† two Hundred Thousand to the third, which he call'd the Class, not of Friends, but of | Greeks.

47. He built no magnificent Works after he was Emperor. For the Temple of *Augustus*, and the Repairing of *Pompey's Theatre*, which were the only Things of this Kind he ever undertook, after several Years he left unfinish'd. He neither \* exhibited  
Shews

\* 15000 Crowns.

† 10000 Crowns.

†† 5000 Crowns.

|| This Class was the lowest in Order, and was nam'd the Grecian in Contempt. For the Greeks, who had made so noble and illustrious a Figure both in Arts and Arms while they were a free People, as soon as Liberty was a partia from them, sunk in their Character at once, and their Minds became as low and abject as their Condition. Of the Lords and Arbiters of Nations, and Masters of Political Wisdom, and Natural and Moral Philosophy to the rest of the Heathen World, they were debas'd into a despicable Race of Sycophants, Pimps, Buffoons and Panders to the Romans their Conquerors. See the third Satire of *Juvenal*, where they are expos'd at large for all these Vices. So impossible is it under a State of Servitude, to preserve the Dignity of the Mind, and a Spirit of Publick Virtue and Honour. The present Greeks also who are Slaves to the Turks, are a standing Confirmation of this Truth.

\* *Augustus* shew'd a Conduct quite different and more judicious. For he entertain'd the People with Games and Shews, and all Sorts of Diversions, beyond what had been known; and thereby made himself and his Government more acceptable to them, and more secure. But *Tiberius's* Moroseness render'd him averse to these Popular Arts, now his Fears were remov'd, and he thought himself out of Danger.

Shews himself, nor was often present at those which were given by others, lest the People shou'd take that Opportunity to demand some Favours of him; as once at such a Time he was oblig'd to grant *Ælius* the Comedian his Freedom. He reliev'd the Necessities of a few Senators; and to excuse himself from doing the like Benefit to more, declar'd, \* he wou'd assist none, unless they had made it appear to the Senate, that their Necessities were real and innocent: By which Means he deterr'd several from applying to him, thro' Modesty and Shame; among whom was *Hortalus*, the Grandson of *Hortensius* the Orator, who had marry'd at the Instance of *Augustus*, and brought up † four Children, tho' he had a very small Estate.

48. His Acts of Publick Munificence were only two. Once he gave Notice he wou'd lend a †† Hundred Millions of Sesterces without Interest, for three Years; and another time he made good their Loss  
to

\* *There is nothing shews the Ill-Nature of Tiberius more fully, than this Declaration. For to a generous Mind, to publish its Necessities, is more painful than to bear them.*

† *The Romans encourag'd Marriage, and discountenanc'd a single Life, by several Provisions. Augustus made a very strict Law to this Purpose, p. 86. And the Jus trium Liberorum, the Privilege of him who was Father of three Children, is well known. By this he was excus'd from serving in any troublesome Offices; and if he was a Pleader, his Motion was receiv'd in Court before another's who had not that Number of Children. It was a great Inhumanity and Injustice therefore in Tiberius, since Hortalus had marry'd in Compliance with the Desire of Augustus, tho' his Estate was scarcely large enough to support a Family, and was now the Father of four Children, and the Customs and Law of his Country were so much in his Favour, not to assist him and relieve him in his Want.*

†† 2500000 Crowns.

to some Landlords, who had their Houses burnt down on the *Calian* Mount. The first Piece of Generosity was forc'd from him by the Importunities of the People for Redress in a great Scarcity of Money, when he had procur'd a Decree of the Senate, that Usurers shou'd employ \* two Parts of their Patrimony in purchasing Land, and that the Debtors shou'd immediately pay off the same Proportion of their Debts ; which was never done. And he was constrain'd to do the last, to lighten the Oppressions of the Times. And he had so high an Opinion of his Generosity in it, that he order'd the Name of Mount *Calius* to be chang'd, and that it shou'd be call'd *Augustus*. After his doubling the Legacy which was left them by *Augustus's* Will, he never bestow'd any Largess on the Soldiers, beside a † Thousand Denaries a Man to the Pretorian Guards, for not joining with *Sejanus* ; and some Presents to the Legions in *Syria*, because they alone had not carry'd *Sejanus's* †† Picture in their Ensigns. He seldom discharg'd the Veteranes, but let them drop off with Age, to save the Expence of the Premiums they were to receive at their Dismission. Nor did any Provinces partake of his Bounty, except *Asia*, where some Cities were overturn'd by an Earthquake.

49. In a short Time he abandon'd himself also to downright Rapine and Oppression. It is well known, that he made *Cn. Lentulus*, the Augur, who had a noble Estate, weary of his Life thro' Vexation and Fear, and wou'd not suffer him to appoint any one for his Heir but himself ; and that he condemn'd  
*Lepida*

\* Two Parts in three.

† 100 Crowns.

†† The Romans us'd to carry little Images of their Gods and afterwards of their Generals and Emperors, in a small Shield fasten'd to the upper End of the Staff of the Ensign just below the transverse Joynt.



*Lepida*, a Woman of a very honourable Family, to \* oblige *Quirinus*, a rich Consular Man without Children, who had divorc'd her twenty Years before, and now accus'd her of a Design, long since form'd, to poyson him ; that he confiscated also the Patrimonies of the Princes of *Gaul* and *Spain*, *Syria* and *Greece*, for the most trivial and shameless Objections, some being impeach'd of nothing but having † part of their Estate in Money ; that he divested many Cities also and private Men of their antient Immunities, of a Propriety in the Mines, and an Exemption from Subsidies : Nay, that *Venones*, King of the *Parthians*, who was expell'd by his Subjects, and had thrown himself upon the Faith of the *Roman* People, and fled to *Antioch* with an immense Treasure, was perfidiously spoil'd and murder'd.

50. He discover'd his Hatred of his Relations first in his Behaviour to his Brother *Drusus*, exposing his  
his

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\* In hope *Quirinus* wou'd leave his Estate to him. For in the Degeneracy of the Roman Times, Persons of the first Quality were not asham'd to make Court, in the basest Manner, to any rich old Fellow who had no Children :

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Sentire calorem  
Si cœpit locuples Gallita & Paccius orbi, &c.  
Juv. Sat. 12.

*If childless Paccius, with his vast Estate,  
Complain he's indispos'd, his Portal strait  
Swarms with a busy Multitude, who there  
For his dear Health their hearty Vows declare.*

† There had been an old Law among the Romans, which *Julius Cæsar* afterwards reviv'd, that forbid any to have in their Hands above such a Summ of Money. *Tiberius* seems to have taken the Advantage of this Law to gratify his Avarice ; as if the Foreign Princes had been bound to observe it.

his Letter in which he treated with him about forcing *Augustus* to restore the Publick Liberty ; and afterwards, in his Actions toward the rest. † He was so far from doing even the least Offices of Duty or Humanity to his Wife *Julia* after she was banish'd, that when by her Father's Order she was restrain'd to the Limit of a single Town, he forbid her also to stir out of the House, or to use any Conversation ; and even defrauded her of the Allowance granted by her Father, and of her Annual Income, under a Pretence of Publick Justice, because *Augustus* had left no Orders about it in his Will. He grew weary of his Mother *Livia*, as if she affected an equal Share of Power ; and avoided to come often into her Company ; and wou'd never be long with her in private, lest he shou'd seem to be directed by her Counsels, tho' he sometimes both stood in need of them, and us'd them. He also took it extremely ill, that the Senate had caus'd it to be inserted among his Titles, that he was the Son of *Livia*, as well as of *Augustus* ; and therefore he neither suffer'd her to be styl'd *Parent of her Country*, nor to receive any eminent Publick Honour : He us'd often to admonish her to abstain from Affairs of Moment, as not proper for a Woman ; especially \* after he had found her in Person at a Fire near *Vesta's* Temple, calling out to the Soldiers and the People, as her Way had been in her Husband's Life-time, and encouraging them to work amain.

51. At last he proceeded to a real Hatred of her, as tis said, upon this Occasion : *Livia* having often press'd him to enroll a certain Person, who was made Free of the City, in the Order of Judges, he refus'd to do it, but upon Condition she wou'd consent

† See the Note, pag. 177.

\* He was particularly allarm'd at this, because such Actions wou'd render her Popular ; and he was afraid of the Consequences.

sent it shou'd be inserted in the Record, *That the Enrollment was extorted from him by his Mother.* Being enrag'd at this, she fetch'd out of her Cabinet some old Papers *Augustus* had sent her, concerning his insolent and intollerable Manners, and read them openly. These Letters, which were preserv'd so long, and contain'd so severe a Charge against him, touch'd him so deeply, that some think this was the principal Cause of his † Retirement. 'Tis certain in the whole three Years he was absent from the City, during his Mother's Life, he saw her but once, and then only for a few Hours : After which, he never concern'd himself to visit her in her Sickness ; and when she was dead he held them so long in Expectation of his Arrival, for several Days, that the Body corrupted before the Burial ; and he forbad her to be consecrated after the Funerals, pretending she had made it her own Command. He also set aside her Will ; and in a short time persecuted all her Friends and familiar Acquaintance, even those to whom she had commended the Care of her Funerals at her Death, one of them, who was a Person of the Equestrian Order, being condemn'd to the \*\* Wheel.

52. He

† To Capræ.

\*\* To draw up Water by a Wheel. The Drudgery of working up Water was a Punishment us'd by the Ancients. We find it as old as the Time of Joshua, the Gideonites being condemn'd to it for their Treachery. And Homer speaks of it, when Hector in his last Speech to Andromache, among other Calamities she would suffer in Captivity after his Death, mentions this ;

Καὶ κεν ὕδωρ φρέσιν Μεσσηῖδ' ἢ ὕπερβιν.  
Πόλλ' ἀεγάζομαι ἔτι. Ἰλιάδ. ζ.

*Then from deep Wells the living Stream to take,  
And on thy weary Shoulders bring it back.*

Mr. Dryden.



52. He neither lov'd his own Son *Drusus*, nor *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted, with the Affection of a Father. He was provok'd with the Vices of the first; for *Drusus* was very lascivious in his Temper, and of a very dissolute Life. Therefore his Death gave him no Concern, but almost as soon as the Funerals were over he return'd to Business, as before; and forbad the Courts of Law to make a longer Adjournment. And the *Ilian* Ambassadors coming to condole him something of the latest, he answer'd them in Ridicule, as if he had entirely lost all Remembrance of his Sorrow, *That he was griev'd at his Heart for their Misfortune in losing their Noble Countryman, Hector.* He so set himself to lessen and defame *Germanicus*, that he beat down his celebrated Actions as Trifles, and slander'd his most glorious Victories as pernicious to the State: He complain'd of him to the Senate, because upon the Occasion of a great and unexpected Famine, he had march'd to † *Alexandria* without asking his Permission: And \* he  
is

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† *Ægypt* being a Granary to Rome, and the Arvenues of it easily maintain'd by a small Force, it was justly regarded with a jealous Eye by the Emperors. *Julius Cæsar* knew the Importance of it, and was therefore afraid to trust it in the Power of a Governour, see pag. 21. And it is likely *Tiberius* took occasion, from this March of *Germanicus* to *Alexandria*, the Capital of *Ægypt* and a Sea-Port, at the Time of a Famine in Italy, to insinuate to the Senate, that he had ill Designs upon the State, in possessing himself of so necessary a Town at such a critical Juncture, by which it was in his Power to distress them, unless they comply'd with his Demands.

\* The Circumstances of *Germanicus's* Death are related more at large in the Life of *Caligula*, and by *Tacitus* in his Annals, Book 2. From the whole History there is no Reason to doubt *Tiberius's* being the Author of his Death. The shining Vertues of *Germanicus* plac'd *Tiberius's* Vices in a stronger Light, and the Humanity and  
amiabl

is believ'd to have been the Author of his Death, by the Means of *Cn. Piso*, the Lieutenant of *Syria*; who, as some are of Opinion, wou'd afterwards have produc'd the Mandate for the Murder, if he had not been enjoin'd in it to keep it private. The People therefore made furious Exclamations, and often call'd out in the Nights, *Give us back Germanicus*. And he confirm'd the Suspicion, by his cruel Treatment of *Germanicus's* Wife and Children.

53. His Daughter-in-Law *Agrippina*, complaining something freely after her Husband's Death. *Then my dear Child*, says he, taking her by the Hand, and repeating a Greek Verse, *if you don't govern, you think you are injur'd*; and wou'd not vouchsafe to hold any Discourse with her afterwards. And because she wou'd not venture to taste some Apples he presented to her once at Supper, he invited her no more, pretending she had tax'd him with a Design to poyson her; tho' it was all a concerted Thing,

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both

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*amiable Temper of the one, made the Sourness and Barbarity of the other the more detest'd. This was a capital Offence to a Tyrant, and cou'd only be atton'd by the Life of the Person, whose Merits gave him so much Pain and Disgrace. Claudian has drawn a like beautiful Opposition of Character in Stilicho and Rufinus:*

*Certamen sublime diu, sed moribus impar, &c.*

*Fierce was the Fight; in Manners most oppos'd  
The Chiefs appear'd, who in the Combat clos'd.  
Of this all Virtues dignify'd the Mind;  
In that all Vices were at once combin'd.  
That to the Throat the pointed Dagger bends;  
This wards the Mischief, and the Blow suspends.  
That spoils the Wealthy, this supplies the Poor;  
That ruins, this the Wretched does restore.  
That kindles Wars, and seeks the lawless Fight;  
This wins the Conquest, and asserts the Right.*

both that he shou'd offer the Fruit in order to try her, and that she shou'd refuse it as a certain Death. Lastly, having falsely reproach'd her, that at one time she intended to take Sanctuary at *Augustus's* Statue, and at another to fly to the Army, he banish'd her to \* *Pandatarvia*; and when she upbraided him with it, he had her scourg'd by a Centurion, who with the Lashes struck out one of her Eyes. And when she resolv'd to starve her self to Death, he order'd them to wrest open her Mouth, and cram Food down her Throat by Force. But she persisting in her Resolution, and so pining away, he attempted to fix a vile Blemish upon her Memory, moving to have her Birth-Day plac'd among the † *Dies Nefasti*. He also made it an extraordinary Piece of Favour in himself, that he had not caus'd her to be strangled and thrown upon the ‡ *Gemoniæ*; and even suffer'd a Decree to be pass'd, that Thanks shou'd be given him for this wonderful Clemency, and a Gift of Gold be consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

54. By *Germanicus* he had three Grandsons, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius*; and only one by *Drusus*, namely, *Tiberius*: And being left without Progeny by the Death of his own Children, he recommended *Nero* and *Drusus*, the two eldest of *Germanicus's* Sons, to the

\* *An Island in the Tyrrhene Sea, to which several Persons of noble Rank were banish'd.*

† *Unlucky Days.*

‡ *Gemoniæ, viz. Scalæ. Vossius in his Etymologicon says, they were a deep Well with Stairs, into which they cast the Bodies of Malefactors. But according to Suetonius, it seems to be rather a large Gibbet, with a Number of Steps leading up to it, on which the Bodies were thrown after Execution, and left expos'd to the Fury and Scorn of the People: As Criminals are now in France and Flanders laid upon a Wheel at the Top of a long Pole, and there left to perish, after their Joints have been broken by the Executioner.*



the Senate, and celebrated the Day of their †† Inauguration with giving a Largeſs to the People. But when he ſaw at the Beginning of the Year, Vows were alſo publickly offer'd for their Health, \* he reſented to the Senate, *That ſuch Honours were not proper to be imparted to any but Perſons ſomething advanc'd in Years, and of whom they had receiv'd ſome Experience.* And from this Time he plainly diſcover'd the ſecret Inclinations of his Mind ; for he expoſ'd them to every one's Accuſations and Virulence : And having by ſeveral Wiles, in order to deſtroy them, provok'd them to reflect upon him, and to uſe ſome Aſperity of Language, he accus'd them to the Senate by a Letter, and even loaded them very furioſly with the moſt invidious Re-proaches. When they were pronounc'd Traytors, he ſtarv'd them to Death ; *Nero* in the Iſland † *Pontia*, and *Drufus* in the farther Part of the *Palatium*. Some think, the Sight of the Executioner diſplaying his X Halter and Hooks, as if he were ſent by the Authority of the Senate to praſtiſe them upon him, ſo affected *Nero*, that he put an End to his Life with

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his

†† *Tirocinium.* *It ſignifies their taking the Gown of Manhood, and being introduc'd to Pleading in the Forum.*

\* *Tiberius was alarm'd at the extraordinary Affection the People expreſs'd to theſe Youths, by paying to them voluntarily, without waiting for an Order from him, an Honour which belong'd to the Emperor and his Family. He conſider'd alſo whoſe Sons they were, and was apprehenſive they might be invited by their Popularity to attempt ſomething in Revenge of their Father's Death ; and therefore determin'd to ſecure himſelf by taking them off.*

† *An Iſland on the South Side of Italy, near Pandavia, mention'd juſt above.*

X *After they were ſtrangled with the Halter, the Executioner ſtruck the Hook into the Malefactor's Bodies, and dragg'd them thro' the Streets with a Rope to the Gemonian Gibbet.*

his own Hands. *Drusus* was kept from Food so strictly, that he attempted to \* eat the Flocks out of the Bed. The Bodies of both were † so mangled and dispers'd, that scarcely any Part of them cou'd be afterwards recover'd.

55. Beside his old Friends and familiar Acquaintance, he chose to himself Twenty out of the Principal Romans, to be in the Nature of a Council upon the Publick Affairs. Of all these, hardly two or three escap'd him; the rest upon some Account or other were cut off: Among them was *Ælius Sejanus*, whose Fall was accompany'd with the Ruin of many others. *Tiberius* had advanc'd this Man to the highest Pitch of Power, not so much out of Affection to him, as that by the Means of his Treacheries and Cunning, he might circumvent *Germanicus's* Sons, and secure the Succession of the Empire to his own †† Grandchild by *Drusus*, who was immediately of his Line.

56. Nor did he treat the × *Greeklings*, his Table-Companions, in whose Conversation he took the greatest Pleasure, more tenderly. For as one of them, *Zeno*, was uttering a very florid Oration before him, he ask'd him, *What hideous Dialect it was that he us'd?* And *Zeno* answering, the *Dorick*, he banish'd him to || *Cinaria*, because he imagin'd he upbraided

\* Tacitus says, that *Drusus* kept himself alive thus for nine Days.

† Lest if they fell into the Hands of the People, the Sight of them shou'd excite their Compassion the more, and enrage them against himself for his Cruelty. Thus *Henry III.* of France caus'd the Bodies of the Duke of Guise and his Brother the Cardinal, whom he had murder'd, to be consum'd privately in the Castle of Blois, that the People might not make Reliques of them.

†† *Tiberius*.

× See Page 210.

|| One of the Grecian Islands, call'd *Sporades*; the Situation of it is very uncertain.

upbraided him with his former Retirement at *Rhodes*, for the *Rhodians* spoke the *Dorick*. It being his Custom also to propose Questions at Supper from what he had read in the Day, when he found that *Seleucus* the Grammarian had enquir'd of his Servants what were the Authors he commonly read, and thereby came prepar'd; he first remov'd him from his Table, and afterwards forc'd him to destroy himself.

57. This cruel and relentless Nature of his, shew'd it self in him even while he was a Boy, and was first observ'd by *Theodorus Gadareus*, his Preceptor in Rhetorick; who seem'd to make a very apt Allusion to it, when he styl'd him sometimes as he reprov'd him, *πλὸν αἷματι πεφυργμμένον*, *A Lump of Clay kneaded up with Blood*. But it appear'd more plainly when he was Emperor, even \* at the Beginning of his Reign, while as yet he was courting the good Opinion of the People by a pretended Moderation. For a Player, as a Funeral was passing by, calling out to the Dead Man, and charging him to tell *Augustus*, *The Legacies he left the People were not yet paid*; he had him seiz'd, and paid him down his Share, and immediately sent him away to be executed, commanding him to go now and † tell *Augustus* the Truth. And not long after, one *Pompeius* a Roman Knight, refusing to come into his Measures in the Senate, as he threaten'd to lay him

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in

\* There cannot be a stronger Proof of the violent Propensity of his Temper to Oppression and Barbarity, than his giving way to it at a Time when he knew how extremely the People were prejudic'd against him, and that he stood in need of all the Arts of Insinuation and Address to gain upon their Mind.

† That all the Legacies were not unpaid, for he had now receiv'd his own.



in Irons, he assur'd him, *That of \* Pompeius he wou'd certainly become a Pompeian* ; by a barbarous Jest striking at the Name of the Man, and the Fortune of the old *Pompeian* Faction.

58. About the same Time, the Pretor asking him whether the Courts shou'd \* proceed upon the Crime of High Treason ; *The Laws*, he answer'd, *must be executed* : And executed they were, with the last Severity. A certain Person had taken off the † Head of *Augustus's* Statue, in order to place another upon it, the Matter was brought into the Senate ; and because the Evidence was not direct and certain, some were put to the Torture. The Offender was condemn'd ; and this sort of Crime was at last extended so far, that it was made Capital for any one to scourge his Slave, or change his Cloaths near a Statue of *Augustus* ; or to have carry'd his Effigies stamp'd on a Piece of Money, or in a Ring, into a Privy-House or the Stews ; or even to express a disrespectful Judgment concerning any of his Words or Actions. In short, he was a lost Man, who suffer'd Honours to be decreed him on the same Day on which they had formerly been decreed to *Augustus*.

59. He acted many other Things also, under a Shew of Discipline and of reforming the Manners, but

\* *Pompey and his Party were ruin'd ; and Tiberius here insinuated to this Gentleman, that if he went on to oppose him, he wou'd share the same Fate, and undo himself in his Fortune, and perhaps lose his Life as Pompey did.*

\* *The Pretor was doubtful, perhaps, whether Tiberius wou'd not avoid Acts of Severity, and chuse gentler Methods. But he had too high a Taste of Cruelty to lose any Occasion of exercising it.*

† *This was not meant as an Indignity to Augustus's Memory ; for it was a Custom with the Antients to change the Heads of Statues.*

but rather in Compliance with his Natural Temper, so full of Cruelty and Rage, that some lash'd him in their Verses for his present Barbarities, and also foretold his future.

*Asper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam? &c.*

Untam'd and fell ; to say it all in one,  
 I'll lay my Life, thy Mother hates her Son.  
 No Knight thou art ; and a good Reason why,  
 Thy beggar'd Fortune cou'd not rise so high :  
 And, all thy Honours briefly to display,  
 Banish'd to *Rhodes* we saw thee sent away.  
 The *Golden Age* is put to Flight by thee,  
 While thou surviv'st, 'twill still an *Iron* be.  
 Wine he abhors, and in his lordly Mood  
 Scorns vulgar Draughts, his Thirst is all for Blood ;  
 With greater Gust he quaffs the reeking Gore,  
 Than his wide Swallow swill'd the Grape before.  
 \* See sullen *Sylla* fierce with Conquest here,  
 And *Marius* from his Banishment appear,  
 And all the † Civil Wars of *Anthony* severe.  
 Behold his Hands in frequent Murders dy'd,  
 Then sighing say, *Rome* is at length destroy'd ;  
 For Seas of Blood his barb'rous Reign attend,  
 Who call'd from Exile do's a Throne ascend.

At first, he endeavour'd to make these Reflections pass for the Expressions of Persons who were impatient of the Remedies he was applying to the Disorders of the State, and as proceeding not so much from their real Sentiments, as from Prejudice and  
 L 4 Passion ;

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\* Alluding to the barbarous Proscription made by *Sylla* after he had crush'd the *Marian Faction*, and by *Marius* when he return'd to *Rome*, after he had been driven away into Exile.

† Mark Anthony was engag'd in the Civil War with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and in another with *Augustus*.

Passion ; and us'd often to repeat, *Oderint, dum pro-*  
*bent, Let them pretend to hate, so long as in their judg-*  
*ment they approve me.* But in a short Time he con-  
vinc'd the World, these Lines were certain Truths,  
and the Author's real Meaning.

60. A Fisherman breaking in upon him unexpect-  
edly in his private Retirement, a few Days after his  
Arrival at *Capricæ*, and presenting him with a pro-  
digious Mullet, he order'd his Face to be scrub'd  
over with the Fish ; being in a Consternation, that  
the Fellow had found a Passage thro' the rough and  
untrodden Parts of the farther Quarter of the Island.  
And the poor Man rejoicing he had not presented  
him also with a huge Lobster which he had taken,  
he commanded them to scratch his Face over again  
with the Lobster. He put a Pretorian Soldier to  
Death, for stealing a Peacock out of his Garden.  
His Litter in which he was carry'd, being stopt by  
the Bushes on the Road, he caus'd the Officer that  
led the Way, who was a Centurion of the first Co-  
hort of a Legion, to be laid flat on the Ground, and  
scourg'd almost to Death.

61. He broke out now into all manner of Cruel-  
ties, for which he never wanted a Subject. His  
Rage was exercis'd first on the Friends, and even  
the Acquaintance of his Mother, then of his Grand-  
sons and his Daughter-in-Law, and lastly of *Sejanus* ;  
\* after whose Death he was beyond measure barbarous ;  
By which it appear'd, *Sejanus* us'd not so much to pro-  
voke him to those Actions, as to find him an Occa-  
sion for them when he desir'd it. Tho' in a short,  
succinct Commentary he compos'd of his own Life,  
he has the Boldness to say, That *he punish'd Sejanus,*  
*because he observ'd him full of Malice against his Son Ger-*  
*manicus's Children ; of whom he cut off one while*  
*Sejanus*

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\* The Treachery of *Sejanus* made him universally sus-  
picious, and provok'd him to destroy a great Number both  
out of Revenge and Fear.



*Sejanus* was under Suspicion with him, and the other after his Execution. To trace his bloody Deeds particularly, wou'd be tedious ; it will be sufficient to give a general Account of them, as standing Examples of Inhumanity. No Day pass'd over without Punishments; no, not Days consecrated and set apart to Religion. He caus'd some to suffer at the \* Beginning of the New Year ; and several who were accus'd and condemn'd, had their Children, and even their Wives involv'd with them in the same Sentence. The Relations of those who were adjudg'd to die, were forbidden to mourn for them, and great Rewards were decreed to any that accus'd them of it, and sometimes to the Witnesses. No Informer's Reputation was question'd, or his Evidence refus'd. Every Crime was made Capital, even the Offence only of a few harmless Words. Thus it was objected to a Poet, that he had vilify'd † *Agamemnon* in a Tragedy, and to an Historian, †† that

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\* *The Beginning of the Year was a Festival, and was observ'd with Publick Joy, to give an auspicious Omen to the whole. And therefore Tiberius's putting Persons to Death at this Time, is mention'd among other Acts of unusual Severity.*

† *He imagin'd, what the Poet had wrote in Disparagement of Agamemnon, was intended against himself; and that he had only observ'd the same Precaution as Juvenal did afterwards, to lash him in the Person of another.*

—experiar, quid concedatur in illos,  
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atq; Latina,  
Sat.

*Since none the living Villains dare implead,  
Arraign them in the Persons of the Dead.*

Mr. Dryden.

†† *Brutus and Cassius stabb'd Julius Cæsar, the first Emperor. To term them the last Romans, he understood to*  
be

he had said, *Brutus* and *Cassius* were the last Romans. The Authors were immediately proceeded against, and their Writings abolish'd, tho' they were approv'd of some Years before, and had been rehears'd to *Augustus*. Several who were held in Custody, were not only deny'd the Liberty of diverting themselves by Reading, but were also interdicted all Conversation and Discourse. And some who were cited to the Bar, where they were sure to be condemn'd, stabb'd themselves at Home, to avoid \* Vexation and Disgrace; or drank Poyson in the Court, yet their Wounds were bound up, and they were hal'd away half dead and gasping to Prison. Not one who suffer'd, but was thrown upon the *Gemonian* Gibbet, and dragg'd thro' the Streets with a Hook. † Twenty were serv'd thus in one Day; among whom were some Boys and Women. Custom having made it unlawful to strangle Virgins, the young Girls were †† first defil'd by the Hangman, and then strangled. Those

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be commending the Act, and reproaching the People for not adventuring to imitate them, and treat him in the same Manner. The Historian's Name was *Cremutius Cordus*; after he had made his Vindication to the Senate, he withdrew and starv'd himself to Death. His Writings were order'd to be burnt; yet several Copies were privately preserv'd.

\* They were afraid of being made Spectacles of Publick Infamy, and suffering the Shame of a common Execution; or that after a pretended Trial, they shou'd be left to pine away in a Course of tedious Torture, according to the known Practice of *Tiberius*.

† *Lipsius* is of Opinion the Number is mistaken here; and that it shou'd be Two Hundred instead of Twenty. He supposes it to be originally wrote in Figures, which some ignorant Transcriber mistook when he went to put them into Words.

†† So brutal an Expedient to observe the antient Custom was an Aggravation of his Cruelty.

Those who desir'd to die, were kept alive by Force. For he thought Death alone so light a Punishment; that hearing a Criminal, *Carnulius* by Name, had kill'd himself, he cry'd out, *Carnulius has escap'd me*. And one of the Prisoners begging him, as he was looking over the Roll, to hasten his Execution, he answer'd, *I am not reconcil'd to you yet*. A Consular Man has inserted it in his Annals, that at a great Feast, where he himself was also present, a certain Dwarf who stood by the Table among the Buffoons, suddenly ask'd him aloud, why *Paconius*, who was guilty of Treason, was suffer'd to live so long: He reprov'd his Sauciness at the Time, but after a few Days he wrote to the Senate, that *Paconius* shou'd be executed without Delay.

62. The Discovery concerning his Son *Drusus's* Death, provok'd him to increase his Cruelty, and make it more general. He thought he had dy'd of a Distemper, contracted by his Intemperance; but finding at last, he was poyson'd by the Treachery of his Wife *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, he spar'd no Man, but tortur'd and put to Death without Distinction; and was so entirely engag'd in the Prosecution of this Discovery for several Days together, that hearing his Host who entertain'd him at *Rhodes*, and whom he had invited to *Rome* by a very friendly Letter, was now arriv'd, he commanded him to be immediately put to the Torture, as if it had been an Accessory brought to be examin'd; and afterwards perceiving the \* Mistake, he caus'd him to be slain, that he might not publish the Injury. The Place where his Executions were made, is still to be seen at *Coprec.*

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\* The Error seems to have been, *Tiberius's* mistaking this Man for another Person, and not his fancying him to have been concern'd in the Murder, when he was not. His Mistake of the Person, might be occasion'd by the Name, or some Expressions in the Message those deliver'd to him, who acquainted him with the Arrival of his Host.



*præ*: From whence, after long and exquisite Tortures, he order'd the condemn'd Persons to be cast down before his Face into the Sea, where a \* Company of Rowers receiv'd them, and broke their Bones with their Poles and Oars, lest there shou'd be any Life remaining in them. Among other Kinds of Torture which he invented, one was to draw in the poor Wretches to drink a great Quantity of Wine, and presently to tie their Members with a Lute-String, that he might rack them at once with the Girting of the String, and with the Pressure of Urine. And unless Death had prevented him, and *Thrasyllus*, as they say, over-rul'd him to defer several Butcheries, by flattering him on purpose with Hope of a longer Life, it is thought he wou'd have dispatch'd many more, and even not have spar'd his Grand-Children which were left; since he suspected *Caius*, and despis'd *Tiberius* as begotten in Adultery. Nor was this Opinion wide of the Truth; for he often † said, *Priam was a happy Man, because he outliv'd all his Offspring.* 63. Amidst

\* Thus Caligula, having drawn together a prodigious Croud upon a Bridge of his own crecting, diverted himself with causing them to be thrown over into the Sea, and seeing them knock'd on the Head there, as they were swimming for their Lives.

† This Expression plainly shew'd his Desire to have his Family extinguish'd, and the infinite Cruelty and Malignancy of his Temper: He wou'd otherwise have regarded *Priam's* Condition as the most calamitous and deplorable, for a Father in his old Age, to see a numerous Issue cut off before his Eyes.

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πῶνάποισμι, ἐπεὶ τέκον ὕμᾱς αἰεὶς,  
Τέτιν ἐν εὐρείῃ, καὶ δ' ἔτι νῦν φημι λελεῖσθαι.

Ιλ. Ω.

But I, the Father of so large a Race,  
As did of late our spacious City grace,  
Unhappy now, my perish'd Offspring mourn,  
A Childless Parent, helpless and forlorn.

The

63. Amidst all this, not only how universally hated and detested he was, but also how full of Fears \* and Terrors he liv'd, and under what continual Alarms, is apparent by several Instances. He forbade any to † consult the *Aruspices* in Secret and without Witnesses.

*The Reflection of Juvenal upon this Misfortune of Priam, is wise and moving :*

*Incolumni Troja Priamus venisset ad umbras, &c.*

*Sat. 10.*

*How fortunate an End had Priam made,  
Among his Ancestors a mighty Shade,  
While Troy yet stood : When Hector, with the Race  
Of Royal Brothers, might his Fan'ral grace ;  
Amidst the Tears of Trojan Dames inurn'd,  
And by his loyal Daughters truly mourn'd.  
Had Heav'n so blest him, he had dy'd before  
The fatal Fleet to Sparta Paris bore.  
But mark what Age produc'd : He liv'd to see  
His Town in Flames, his falling Monarchy ;  
In fine, the feeble Sire, reduc'd by Fate  
To change his Scepter for a Sword, too late,  
His last Effort before Jove's Altar tries,  
A Soldier half, and half a Sacrifice ;  
Falls like an Ox that waits the coming Blow,  
Old and unprofitable to the Plough.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

\* *Lat. Contumeliis obnoxius. Salmasius is for striking out the Word Contumeliis, as inserted by some ignorant Grammarian, who did not understand how obnoxius cou'd be us'd absolutely. But his Criticism seems to have no Foundation ; for Suetonius has the same Expression in the Life of Claudius, § 8.*

† *He was afraid they shou'd enquire concerning the Time of his Death ; and perhaps was apprehensiv they might consult them about the Success of a Conspiracy against him, and that the Answers of the Priests might embolden them to execute it.*

Witnesses. He attempted also to suppress the Oracles near the City; but being aw'd by the \* Oracle at Præneste, he desisted: For when the Lots were seal'd up and sent to Rome, they † cou'd not be found in the Chest till it was sent back to the Temple. He †† detain'd with him two Consular Men appointed for Governors of the Provinces, so long, not daring to suffer them to depart, that at last after a few Years he nam'd Successors to them while they were yet with him on the spot; in the mean time while they held the Title, he issu'd Instructions to them as if they were absent in their Posts; which they constantly took Care to execute by their Deputies and Assistants.

64. After

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\* The Original of this, according to Cicero, was thus: The Records of the Town, he says, testify that Numerius Suffucius, a Man of Noble Rank, having been terrify'd by several affrightful Dreams, was order'd in one of them to go and strike a Rock in a certain Place. His Townsmen laugh'd at him for his Fancy, but he went in Obedience to the Vision and smote the Stone; it open'd at the Blow, and threw out the Lots, which were of Oak, and had the Characters of the antient Letters inscrib'd upon them. At the same Time Honey gush'd out of an Olive-Tree, and the Soothsayers declar'd, those Lots wou'd become renown'd, and order'd a Chest to be made of the Wood of the Olive-Tree, in which they were deposited.

† The transporting the Lots to Rome, wou'd have rein'd the Reputation of the Temple at Præneste; and the Superstition of the Inhabitantes undoubtedly made them very unwilling to part with their Oracle. The Heathen Priests therefore, who kept the Lots, to preserve their Power with the People and to secure their Gain, easily found a Way to defeat Tiberius's Design, by conveying the Lots aside, and sealing up the Chest without them: For the Miracle here related, was certainly produc'd after this Manner.

†† He was afraid to let them take Possession of the Provinces, lest they shou'd make Insurrections and attempt to depose him.



64. After their Condemnation, he never remov'd his Daughter-in-Law and his Grand-Children to any Place, but in Chains, and in a Litter close shut up; with a Guard of Soldiers to hinder any who met them on the Way from gazing after them, or croud-  
ing about them.

65. Tho' he saw the Birth-Day of *Sejanus*, who was forming dangerous Designs against him, was publicly celebrated, and his Images, which were of Gold, were every where worship'd; yet he \* un-  
dertook to crush him, and effected it at last with  
much

\* From the Fearfulness and Caution of *Tiberius's* Tem-  
per, and the dissolute Course of Life to which he had aban-  
don'd himself, it may be concluded, that nothing less than  
some extraordinary Provocation, and the apparent Necessity  
of pulling down this formidable Minister for his own Securi-  
ty, cou'd give him Resolution enough to engage in so diffi-  
cult and hazardous an Affair. But his Personal Danger,  
and the Desire of Revenge having determin'd him to at-  
tempt it, he proceeded in it with his wonted Arts of Dis-  
guise and Treachery, which he never exerted in a more  
Masterly Manner, than on this Occasion; for *Sejanus* never  
suspected his Ruine was projecting, till the Tempest broke  
upon him, and overwhelm'd him at once. *Juvenal* has  
admirably describ'd the Fall of this exorbitant Favourite,  
and the Behaviour of the Common People upon it:

*Ipfas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis, &c.*

*Sat. 10.*

Down go the Titles; and the Statue crown'd,  
Is by base Hands in the next River drown'd.  
The guiltless Horses, and the Chariot Wheel,  
The same Effect of vulgar Fury feel:  
The Smith prepares his Hammer for the Stroke,  
While the lung'd Bellows hissing Fire provoke;  
*Sejanus*, almost first of Roman Name,  
The Great *Sejanus* crackles in the Flames.

*Form'd*

much Difficulty, by Cunning and Dissimulation, rather than by his Princely Authority. For first, that he might remove him from his Person under a Pretence of Honour, he made him his Colleague in his fifth Consulship; which for that Reason, after a long Interval,

*Form'd in the Forge, the pliant Brass is laid  
On Anvils; and of Head and Limbs are made  
Pans, Cans, and Piss-Pots, a whole Kitchen Trade.* } 7

*Adorn your Doors with Laurels; and a Bull  
Milk-white and large, lead to the Capitol.  
Sejanus with a Rope is dragg'd along,  
The Sport and Laughter of the giddy Throng.  
Behold, they cry, what Æthiop Lips he has!  
How foul a Snout, and what a hanging Face!  
By Heav'n, I never cou'd endure his Sight:  
But say, How came his monstrous Crimes to Light?  
What is the Charge, and who the Evidence?  
(The Saviour of the Nation and the Prince)  
Nothing of this; but our old Cæsar sent  
A noisy Letter to his Parliament.  
Nay, Sirs, if Cæsar writ, I ask no more;  
He's guilty, and the Question's out of Door.*

*There was a damn'd Design, crys one, no Doubt;  
For Warrants are already issu'd out:  
I met Brutidius in a mortal Fright,  
He's dipt for certain, and plays least in Sight.  
I fear the Rage of our offended Prince,  
Who thinks the Senate slack in his Defence:  
Come, let us haste our loyal Zeal to shew,  
And spurn the wretched Corps of Cæsar's Foe.  
But let our Slaves be present there, lest they  
Accuse their Masters, and for Gain betray.  
Such were the Whispers of those jealous Times,  
About Sejanus' Punishment and Crimes.*

Mr. Dryden:

Interval, he assum'd in his \* Absence from the City : And then deluding him with the Hope of Affinity by Marriage, and of the Tribuneship, he accus'd him unexpectedly to the Senate, in a very mean and abject Letter ; where, among other Things, he intreated them to *send one of the Consuls, to conduct him to them with a Guard, for he was now a poor deserted old Man.* And being still diffident, and fearing an Insurrection of the People, he gave Orders that † his Grand-Son *Drusus*, whom he kept in Irons at Rome, shou'd be releas'd, if Things requir'd it, and be put at their Head. Ships were also laid ready for transporting him to any Legions to which he shou'd think fit to make his Flight ; and he sat watching on a very high Rock for the Signals which he order'd to be made of the Event, in case the ordinary Messengers shou'd be stopp'd. Yet when *Sejanus's* Conspiracy was suppress'd, he was so far from being †† more fearless and assur'd, that for nine Months after,

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\* By the legal Constitution, no Person cou'd stand for the Consulship, or enter upon it, unless he was present in the City : But the Emperors were too powerful to be restrain'd by the antient Customs.

† *Drusus* was acceptable to the People ; and therefore *Tiberius* chose to employ him for their Leader, because by his Interest he might over-rule their Resentments, and prevent their being led on to any dangerous Enterprize against him. For tho' he hated *Drusus*, and pretend'd to be afraid of him ; yet at such a Crisis, he thought him the safest Person to be entrusted with so important a Charge.

†† *Tiberius* was naturally suspicious, and considering the Number of *Sejanus's* Friends and Dependents, might apprehend some of them wou'd endeavour to revenge his Death. He was now also in Years, and consequently his Jealousies increas'd upon him : Beside, the Consciousness of his Cruelties, unavoidably fill'd him with perpetual Fears, and justly made him his own Tormentor.

Pœna



after, he never stirr'd out of the Town call'd *Villa Jovis*.

66. The Reproaches which were also thrown upon him from every side, stung his Mind to the Quick; for † all condemn'd Offenders tax'd him with the vilest Crimes, either to his Face, or by Libels dispers'd in the †† *Orchestra* in the Theatre. The Impressions these Reflections made upon him, were different; for sometimes he endeavour'd to stifle and conceal them out of Shame, and at other times he wou'd despise them and publish them himself. But he was cut to the Soul by a Letter of *Artabanus* the King of the *Parthians*; who told him severely of his Parricides, Murders, Sloth and Luxury, and advis'd him immediately to satisfy the furious

ous

*Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo sævior illis, &c.*  
Juv. Sat. 13.

*Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell it self can find  
A fiercer Torment than a guilty Mind;  
Which Day and Night does dreadfully accuse,  
Condemns the Tyrant, and the Charge renews.*

Mr. Creech.

† It is not easy to explain, how the Malefactors cou'd have an Opportunity to cast their Libels into the Senators Seats in the Theatre. Some of them, who perhaps were sentenc'd to be expos'd to the Beasts, or to fight in Mortal Combat on the Stage, might do it: But that does not remove the Difficulty of this Passage; for Suetonius says, it was done by all sorts of Criminals, without Distinction: *Nullo non damnatorum omne probri genus ingerente, &c.* It may not be improper to observe here, that Suetonius seems to affect this Manner of Expression; for in the Beginning of the next Paragraph he says, *tantum non summam malorum suorum professus est*, tho' it is unnatural and perplex'd.

†† The Senators Seats. See the Note p. 97.

ous and most just Hatred of the People, by a voluntary Death.

67. He became at last quite weary of himself, and in the Beginning of one of his Letters, has strongly express'd the Height of his Miseries: *What shall I write to you, Honourable Fathers? Or how shall I write? Or indeed at present what shall I not write? May all the Gods and Goddesses make me perish worse than I feel myself perish every Day, if I am able to resolve.* \* Some are of Opinion, that by his Skill in future Events he fore-knew these Things, and saw long before-hand the Calamities and Disgrace which wou'd one Day overtake him; and that it was for this Reason he so obstinately refus'd to assume the Empire, with the Appellation of *PATER PATRIÆ, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY*, and to let them swear to his Acts, lest it shou'd afterwards be a greater Infamy to him, to be found undeserving of so high an Honour. And this may be collected from an Oration he made upon both these Occasions; where he says, *That he shou'd always be like himself, and never change the Tenor of his Deportment, as long as he had the Use of his Senses. But for the Sake of the Precedent it ought not to be admitted, that the Senate shou'd bind themselves to the Acts of any Person, who might possibly, by some Accident or other, take a different Turn. And again, If you shou'd at any time doubt concerning my Inclinations, and the Intention of my Mind, which is wholly devoted to your Service; I wish Death may put a Period to my Days, before I see such an Alteration of your Opinion. The Style of FATHER will then add no Honour to me, but will be a Reflection upon you, either for Rashness in giving me the Title, or for Inconstancy in changing your Judgment concerning me.* 68 His

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\* Tho' Tiberius was strongly addicted to Astrology, and was therefore liable to be influenc'd by the imaginary Prognostications of the Art; yet Suetonius has given a better Reason of his Refusal, p. 190, &c. and shewn that it proceeded from Wariness and Cuning.

68. His Body was large and strong, and his Stature beyond a just Size: He was broad in the Shoulders and Breast, and equally proportion'd in his other Parts quite down to the Feet. His Left-Hand was the most useful and vigorous; and his Joints were so firm, and strung so well, that he wou'd push thro' a green sound Apple with his Finger, and make a Wound on the Head of a Boy, or even of a Youth, with a Fillip. He was of a fair Complexion, and his Hair hung so low behind that it cover'd his Neck, which seem'd to be a thing peculiar to his Family. He had a graceful Aspect, tho' he was subject to frequent and sudden Swellings in the Face. His Eyes were very large, and, which is wonderful, cou'd \* see by Night, even in the dark; but it was only for a little while at his first Waking out of Sleep, afterwards they grew dim again. † He carry'd his Neck erect and without Motion. He had a sullen Countenance, and was generally silent; seldom or never holding Discourse with his nearest Friends, and speaking very slow, and with an effeminate Motion of his Fingers. All which Circumstances, which were displeasing and full of Arrogance, *Augustus* observ'd in him, and often endeavour'd to excuse to the Senate and People, alledging *they were Defects of Nature, and not of the Mind*. He had a very happy State of Health, which was hardly ever disorder'd thro' the whole Time of his Reign; tho'

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\* Scaliger, *the Sen*, observes that his Father was endow'd with a Quality of the like Nature: His Eyes, he says, were blew, and cou'd sometimes see as well by Night, as Men can in a Twilight; and that himself also was able to do the same, till his Twenty-third Year; after which that Power forsook him.

† All these Circumstances evidently argu'd a Disposition haughty and malignant, and were very unpopular, tho' *Augustus* endeavour'd to excuse them, and cover them by a favourable Construction.



tho' from the thirtieth Year of his Age, he took the Care of it into his own Hands, without the Assistance or Advice of the Physicians.

69. With respect to the Gods and Matters of Religion, he was very \* negligent, being addicted to Astrology, and fully persuaded that all Things were govern'd by † Fate. Yet he was extremely terrify'd at Thunder, and perpetually wore a Crown of Laurel upon his Head in tempestuous Weather, because the Leaves of that Tree are said to be never †† struck with Lightning.

70. He

\* Augustus was not so devoted to Star-gazers and Wizards, as Tiberius was; but he was extravagantly superstitious and regarded every trifling Accident as portending and ominous, with the same Weakness and Concern as the ignorant Vulgar. Suetonius when he mentions this Part of his Character, do's not censure him for Want of Religion, because these Things were a principal Part of the Pagan Religion, and were inculcated by the Augurs and Aruspices, who were the establish'd Priesthood, and to whom Augustus by this respectfully adher'd. It seems therefore, that the Irreligion of Tiberius, consisted in his neglecting the licens'd Soothsayers of his Country, and delivering himself up to the Astrologers and Erectors of Schemes, who were a Set of irregular Impostors, not constituted by the State, and whom the Heathen Priests represented as Contemners of the Gods and the sacred Rites, to render them odious with the People.

† By the Power and Influence of the Stars. The Belief of this naturally occasion'd him to despise the Gods.

†† Budæus justly rallies the Commentators, who gravely set themselves to support an Opinion ridiculous and false in Fact, with Reasons as fanciful and vain, instead of confessing the Absurdity of it. Perhaps the Romans had some Regard to this Notion, in the Custom of hanging up Crowns of Laurel at the Entrance of the Emperor's Palace:

Postibus

70. He studiously cultivated the Liberal Arts of †† either Kind. In his *Latin* Orations he imitated \**Corvinus Messala*, whom he had form'd himself by in his Youth, *Corvinus* being then an old Man. But by †Affectation and too much Exactness, he render'd his Style obscure, so that he is thought to have express'd himself better sometimes *Extempore*, than when he took Pains. He compos'd a Lyric Poem, entitled, *A Complaint for the Death of Lucius Cæsar*; and wrote some *Greek Verses* in Imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus*, and *Parthenius*, the Poets who pleas'd him most, placing their Writings and their \* Images in the Publick Libraries

Postibus Augustis eadem fidissima custos  
Ante fores stabis; mediamque tuebere quercum.  
Ovid.

*Wreath'd on the Posts, before the Palace wait,  
And be the sacred Guardian of the Gate:  
Secure from Thunder, and unharm'd by Jove,  
Unfading as th' immortal Pow'rs above.*

Mr. Dryden.

†† Of Greece and Rome.

\* Quintilian commends this Orator for the Purity and Dignity of his Style.

† Tiberius affected to use obsolete and uncommon Words in his Writing; a Fault for which Augustus very justly censur'd him, p. 132.

\* It was a general Affectation with the Romans, to have Statues of the celebrated Authors of Antiquity in their Libraries.

Indocti primum: quanquam plena omnia gypso  
Chrysiippi invenias; nam perfectissimus horum est,  
Siquis Aristotelem similem, vel Pittacon emit,  
Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas.

Juv. Sat. 2.

*The Wretches too pretend to Learning: Why?  
Chrysippus' Statue decks their Library.*

1760

Libraries among the antient Authors of the first Rank; and therefore most of the learned Men of his Time, vy'd together in addressing to him several Treatises concerning them. But his Curiosity lay chiefly in understanding Fabulous History, which he carry'd even to Trifles and the most ridiculous Conceits: For he generally try'd the Grammarians, who were the Sort of Men, as we observ'd, he was most fond of, with such Questions as these; *Who was Hecuba's Mother? What Name did Achilles go by among the Virgins? What was the Song the Sirenes us'd to sing?* And the first Day he came into the Senate

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*Who makes his Closet finest, is most read;  
The Dolt that with an Aristotle's Head  
Carv'd to the Life, has once adorn'd his Shelf,  
Strait sets up for a Stagirite himself.*

Mr. Tate.

\* Achilles at the Desire of his Mother, who foresaw he wou'd be slain if he went to the Seige of Troy, conceal'd himself among a Company of Virgins, disguis'd in their Habit, and mixing with them in Spinning, and other Female Work, till Ulysses discover'd him by a Stratagem, and persuaded him to go with them to the War.

*Præscia venturi genitrix Nereia leti, &c.*

Ovid.

*Thetis, who knew the Fates, apply'd her Care  
To keep Achilles in Disguise from War;  
And, till the threat'ning Influence were past,  
A Woman's Habit on the Hero cast.*

*All Eyes were cozen'd by the borrow'd Vest,  
And Ajax (never wiser than the rest)  
Found no Pelides there: At length I came  
With profer'd Wares to this pretended Dame;  
She, not discover'd by her Mien or Voice,  
Betray'd her Manhood by her Manly Choice,*

And



nate after *Augustus's* Death, as if he wou'd perform the Offices of † Filial Duty and of Religion at once, he sacrific'd with Frankincense and Wine, but had no Musick at the Rites; after the Example of *Minos*, who had done so upon the Death of his Son.

71. Tho' he was a Master of the *Greek* Language, and spoke it readily, yet he never introduc'd it into his common Discourse; Especially in the Senate he shunn'd it so strictly, that going once to mention the Word *Monopolium*, he first ask'd Pardon for using a foreign Word before them. And when the Word *Emblema* was recited in a Decree of the House, he mov'd to have it chang'd for one of our own; or if there was no single Word in our Language to answer it, that the Thing shou'd be express'd by several in a Circumlocution. He also forbid a *Grecian* Soldier who was examin'd as an Evidence, to make his Answers unless in *Latin*.

72. During his Retirement, he attempted to return to *Rome* only twice. Once he was brought in a Barge as far as the Gardens near which the Sea-Fights are represented, a Guard being plac'd on the Banks

*And while on Female Toys her Fellows look,  
Grasp'd in her Warlike Hand a Javelin shook;  
Whom by this Act reveal'd, I thus bespoke:  
" O Goddess born! resist not Heav'n's Decree,  
" The Fall of Ilium is reserv'd for Thee;  
Then seiz'd him, and produc'd in open Light,  
Sent blushing to the Field the fatal Knight.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

† He shew'd his Devotion to the Gods, by making a Sacrifice of Frankincense and Wine, and his Affection to *Augustus*, by not having Musick at the Offering: For the Heathens generally accompanying their Rites with Musick, he celebrating them without it, express'd the deepest Sorrow and Dejection.

Banks of the *Tiber*, to keep \* off any who might come to meet him: Another time, he advanc'd in the *Appian* Road within seven Miles of the City, and having view'd the Walls only, turn'd back without entering them. It is uncertain what was the Cause of his first Return; but the last was occasion'd by an Omen which made him afraid. For going to feed a † creeping Dragon which he was very fond of, with his own Hand, according to his Custom, he found it devour'd by Ants; upon which he was advis'd to beware of the Power of the †† Multitude. Posting back therefore to *Campania* in a Hurry, he fell ill at *X Astura*; and recovering a little, held out to *Circei*. And not to create a Suspicion of his being indispos'd, he was present at the Military Games, and even encounter'd a Wild Boar which was turn'd in upon the Area, with Javelins; but straining his Side in the Struggle, and being expos'd to the open Air while he was all over in a Sweat, he relaps'd into a worse Condition. Yet he bore up under it for some Time; and tho' he was carry'd as far as *Misenum*, omitted nothing of his daily Customs, not even his Feastings and his other Pleasures; partly out of Intemperance, and partly out of Dissimulation. For *Charicles* the Physician being oblig'd to leave him for a while, took up his Hand to kiss it at his Departure; and *Tiberius* thinking he had felt

M his

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\* Either from Fear of some Design against his Person, or from the Moroseness of his Temper, which made him shun familiar Salutations.

† *Serpens Draco*, to distinguish it from another Species of Dragons which fly.

†† Represented by the Swarms of Ants.

X An Island in Italy, made by a River of that Name and the Adriatic Sea.

his Pulse, \* call'd upon him to stay and make one at the Table, and continu'd the Entertainment till very late. Nor when the Company broke up, did he lay aside his usual Practice ; but standing in the Middle of the Room with a Liſtor by him, he ſaluted every Man by Name as they took their Leave.

73. In the mean time reading in the Acts of the Senate, that certain Criminals concerning whom he had written briefly to them, only ſetting down their Names, were diſmiſs'd, and not ſo much as brought to a Hearing ; he was inrag'd at the Contempt put upon him by it, and reſolv'd by all means to make his Way back to *Caprea*, not daring to attempt any thing till he was in a Place of Security. But being detain'd by Tempeſts, and by the Violence of his Diſtemper which increas'd upon him, he expir'd ſhortly after in \* *Lucullus's* Villa, in the Seventy-eighth Year of his Age, and the Twenty-third of his Reign, on the † Seventeenth of the Kalends of *April*, *Cn. Acerronius Proculus* and *Pontius Niger* being Conſuls. Some are of Opinion, that †† *Caius* gave him a ſlow languiſhing Poyſon ; others, that they deny'd him Food when he call'd for it in the Intermiſſion of his Fever ; and ſeveral think they ſtifled him with a Pillow, when upon his recovering out of a Swoon, he enquir'd after his Ring which they had taken from him in his Fit. *Seneca* writes, *That finding him-*  
*ſelf*

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\* Either for fear *Charicles* ſhou'd publiſh his Illneſs abroad, or from a Fancy that he might be perſuaded to think him in a better Condition than he imagin'd, by ſeeing him ſit up late at the Banquet, and exert himſelf ſo much with the Company.

\* The Villa of *Lucullus* was one of the moſt magnificent and coſtly of any among the Romans. See his Life in *Plutarch*.

† March 16th.

†† *Caligula*, who ſucceeded him.



Self fainting, he pull'd off his Ring, and held it a while as if he wou'd deliver it to some body ; and putting it upon his Finger again, and grasping his Left-Hand fast, lay for a long Time without Motion ; and then calling on a sudden for his Servants, and receiving no Answer, he got up, and his Strength failing, fell down a little Way from the Bed.

74. Having brought the Statue of *Apollo Temenites*, which was very large, and a noble Piece of Work, to *Syracuse* upon his last Birth-Day, in order to place it in the Library of the new Temple, he saw the God in a Dream, who assur'd him, *His Image cou'd not be dedicated by him.* And a few Days before his Death, the Watch-Tower at *Capreae* was thrown down by an Earthquake. And at *Misenum*, the Coals which were brought in to aire the Chamber, \* became extinct ; and having lain dead for some Time, blaz'd out again suddenly at the Beginning of the Evening, and continu'd burning till late at Night.

75. The People were so overjoy'd at his Death, that upon the first News of it, they ran up and down, some crying, *Throw him into the Tiber*, and others besought *Mother Earth* and the *Infernal Gods*, to allow him no Place below but among the guilty Spirits ; and some threaten'd to drag his Carcass with a Hook, and throw it on the *Gemonian Gibbet*. For beside the Remembrance of his former Cruelty, they were exasperated by a fresh Provocation. A Decree of the Senate having appointed, that the Punishment of Condemn'd Persons shou'd always be delay'd for ten Days, it happen'd to be the Day for the Execution

M 2

of.

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\* Perhaps they interpreted this Circumstance thus ; The Coals being brought into the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, and going out there, signify'd the Emperor himself shou'd expire ; and their reviving again in the Evening, and burning late, referr'd to the Fire of his Funeral Pile to consume his Body ; because that was kindled at Night, and continu'd burning a long Time.

of some, when the Advice came concerning *Tiberius's* Death: Wherefore as the Criminals were imploring Favour, the Officers in *Caius's* Absence having no Body to apply to for an Authority to suspend the Sentence, strangled them and cast them upon the *Germanian* Gallows. This inflam'd the Hatred of the People, as if the Tyrant's Inhumanity continu'd even after he was dead. His Body was carry'd to Rome by the Soldiers, and burnt with a Publick Funeral; a great many crying out as they began to remove it from *Misenum*, *That it ought rather to be carry'd to \* Atella, and be smouldred there in the Amphitheatre.*

76. He had made two Draughts of his Will, about two Years before; of which one was written by his own Hand, and the other by the Hand of his Freedman, but the Contents of both were the same; and he had them witness'd by some of the meanest Condition. By this he left *Caius*, his Grandson by † *Germanicus*, and *Tiberius*, his Grandson also by *Drusus*, equal Heirs; and in case either fail'd, appointed the Survivor to inherit the whole. He gave Legacies also to most, and, among others, to the Vestal Virgins; to all the Soldiers, and to the Roman People Man by Man, and to the Masters of the Wards by themselves.

\* A Town of Campania, infamous for Lewdness: They were the Inventors of an Interlude which receiv'd its Name from them. Casaubon justly explains this Saying to mean, that as *Tiberius* had turn'd his Back upon Rome, his Body ought not to have the Honour of being carry'd thither to be burnt with the usual Rites; but shou'd be sent to a Town of that Quarter which he had chosen for the Scene of his Debaucheries, and be half consum'd there in the Theatre, like the Carcass of a Malefactor.

† *Tiberius* was oblig'd to adopt *Germanicus*, by *Augustus's* Recommendation.

THE  
L I V E S  
OF THE  
Twelve Cæſars,

Written in LATIN by

*C. Suetonius Tranquillus.*

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Translated into ENGLISH, with Explanatory NOTES, by Mr. *HUGHES*.

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*Adorn'd with CUTS.*

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V O L. II.

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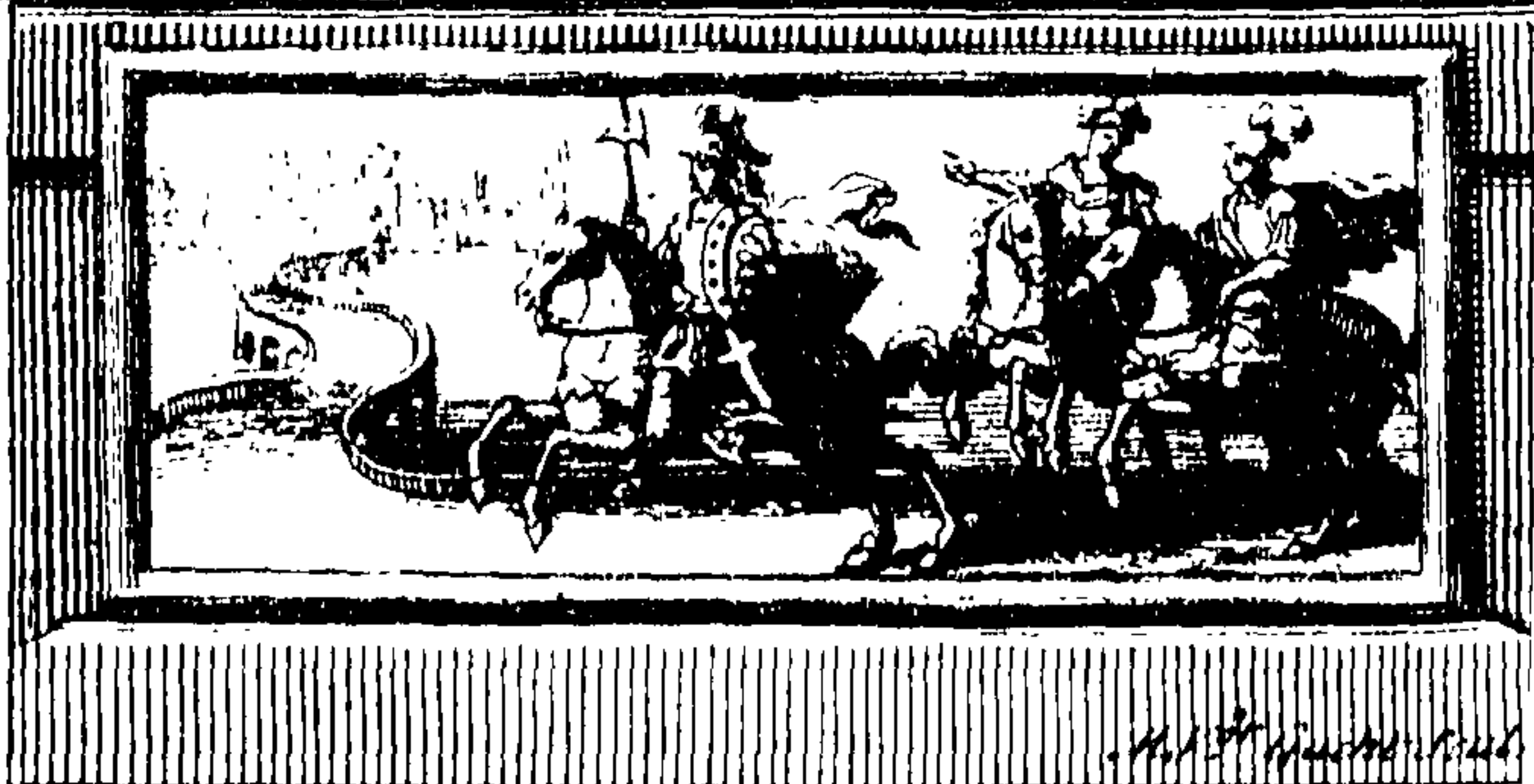
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THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*Caius Caesar Caligula.*



GERMANICUS, the Father of \* *Caius Caesar* and the Son of *Drusus* and † *Antonia* the younger, being adopted by his Uncle *Tiberius*, assum'd the Questorship five Years before the ‖ Age allow'd by the Laws, and after that the Consulate.

When the News of *Augustus's* Death came abroad, he was with the Army in †† *Germany*; and the Legions universally in a Body rejecting *Tiberius* and offering him the Government, he with equal Fidelity and Duty quieted them and appeas'd the Mutiny; and shortly after, he beat the Enemy, and triumph'd. Being again elected Consul, before he enter'd on the

M 3

Office,

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\* *Caligula.*

† *The younger of that Name; she was the Daughter of Mark Anthony and Octavia, Augustus's Sister.*

‖ *Forty three was the customary Age, and was call'd Tempus legitimum; but this Qualification was frequently neglected.*

††. See Page 191.

Office, he was \* hurry'd away to compose the Troubles of the East ; where defeating the King of *Armenia*, he reduc'd *Cappadocia* into a Province, and expir'd, in the Thirty-fourth Year of his Age, of a lingering Disease at *Antioch*, not without Suspicion of Poyson. For beside the livid Spots which arose all over the Body, and a Foam which work'd out at the Mouth, after the Burning, his Heart was found among the Bones unconsum'd ; the Nature of which is said to be such, that Fire cannot affect it, if it is once touch'd with Poyson.

2. He dy'd, as 'twas thought, by the Treachery of *Tiberius*, and the Means of *C. Piso* ; who being at that Time Governor of *Syria*, scrupled not to own, he must of Necessity break either with the † Father or the Son, in order to support himself ; and when *Germanicus* lay ill, he observ'd no Bounds in vilifying and injuring him by Words and Actions : Wherefore, at his Return to *Rome*, he was almost torne in Pieces

\* The same Jealousy and Fear which caus'd *Tiberius* to detain with him two Provincial Governors, (see p. 230.) and not let them go to their Governments, certainly induc'd him to send *Germanicus* away from *Rome* as far as *Armenia*. He was afraid those Governors shou'd act against him, if they took Possession of the Provinces ; and now he apprehended, if *Germanicus* staid at *Rome* and enter'd on the Consulship, his Popularity and Interest might be pernicious to him, and his Virtues make his own Vices the more provoking ; and having an Opinion of his Fidelity, he thought he might safely remove him to that Distance, or that it was the least Hazard of the two.

† *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*. It appears he was under Engagements of Friendship to *Germanicus*, and his Fortune principally depended upon *Tiberius*. His Intimacy with *Germanicus* made him more capable of serving *Tiberius* in this Design, and *Tiberius*, 'tis likely, observ'd in him a Disposition not averse to so barbarous a Treachery.



Pieces by the People, and the Senate †† condemn'd him to Death

3. *Germanicus*, it is certain, possess'd all the Accomplishments of Body and Mind, beyond any Man who ever liv'd. His Person was extremely graceful, his Courage high, and he excell'd in the Eloquence and Learning both of *Greece* and *Rome*. He was singularly courteous and benevolent, and had a most surprising Manner of attracting the Affection and Love of all Men. The Justness of his Proportion was something lessen'd by his having slender Legs; but in time he corrected this Defect, by his daily Custom of Riding after Meals. He often engag'd the Enemy Hand to Hand, and pleaded in several Causes, even after he had receiv'd the Honour of the Triumphant Ornaments; and among other Monuments of his Studies, he left some *Greek* Comedies. At home and abroad he always acted with wonderful Humanity, and familiarly enter'd such Towns as were Free or Confederate, without the Band of Lictors. Where-ever he discover'd the Sepulchres of Illustrious Men, he sacrific'd to their *Manes*. Designing to compose the scatter'd Reliques of those who fell in the Slaughter of *Varus's* Legions, he was the first to gather them up, and pile them together with his own Hands. To his Enemies, upon whatever Account he happen'd to have any, he carry'd himself with Lenity and Temper; and when *Piso* had revers'd his Decrees, and spitefully insulted several of his Dependents for a long time, he never resent'd it, till he perceiv'd him practising upon his Life with \* Incantations and Charms; and even then he proceeded no farther, than to renounce his Friendship in Form, and to order his Domesticks, in case

M 4

any

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†† Upon the Impeachment of *Vitellius*, who was afterwards Emperor.

\* See *Tacitus*, An. Book 2. where he mentions the Spells and Sorceries us'd by *Piso*.

any fatal Mischief shou'd befall him, to revenge it.

4. The Effects of these beautiful Qualities were great and many. He was so belov'd by his Friends, and the Opinion of his Merit was so high, that *Augustus*, to mention no more, had it under Consideration a long time, whether he shou'd not make him his Successor, and at last oblig'd *Tiberius* to adopt him. He was so acceptable to the People, that several have reported, whenever he took a Progress to any Country, or remov'd from thence to another, the Crowds which flock'd about him and attended him on the Way, were so great, that he was often in Danger of his Life: And at his Return from *Germany*, after he had suppress'd the Sedition there, all the Pretorian Cohorts went forth to meet him, tho' by an express Order, only two of them were allow'd to do it; and every Sex, Age, and Quality at *Rome* pour'd out to receive him at Twenty Miles Distance from the City.

5. But they express'd greater and more unquestionable Proofs of their Affection to him, at the time of his Death, and after it. The Day on which he dy'd, they \* pelted the Images of the Gods with Stones, and threw down their Altars; and many brought out their *Lares* and cast them into the Street, and expos'd their new-born Children. Even Barbarians, who were at War with each other, and with us, as if some Domestick Calamity had surpris'd them, are said to have consented to a Truce. Several † petty Kings tore up their Beards, and shav'd the Heads of their Wives, in Token of the profoundest

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\* The Popish Mariners treat their Saints in the like devout Manner, when they scourge their Images to appease a Storm.

† Reguli.

profoundest Sorrow. And \* *Megistanus*, who was a King of Kings, abstain'd from the Exercise of Hunting and from Eating, which with the *Parthians* is equal to a Suspension of the Law-Courts with us.

6. At *Rome*, when they first heard of his being ill, the whole City, full of Confusion and Tears, flock'd about the Messengers which last arriv'd, to enquire for News ; and it being spread abroad in the Evening by some uncertain Hands, that he was better, they crouded to the Capitol from all Parts with Torches and Victims, and were on the point of breaking open the Temple-Doors, not being able to brook the least Delay in offering up their Thanksgivings. Nor cou'd *Tiberius* sleep for the Acclamations of the People, shouting, *Hail O Rome, Hail our Country, Germanicus is safe*. But as soon as it was known he was dead, no Consolation nor Edicts cou'd restrain their Lamentations, which continu'd all the † Holy-Days of *December*. The Depravity of the Times which follow'd, wonderfully augmented the Glory of the Deceas'd, and endear'd his Memory ; all Men being justly of Opinion, that the Awe and Reverence of *Germanicus* was a Curb upon *Tiberius's* Cruelty, which afterwards gave it self a Loose.

7. He marry'd †† *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *M. Agrippa* and *Julia*, and had by Her nine Children ; of whom two were snatch'd away in Infancy, and one when just arriv'd at the Age of a Boy, whose Effigies in the Habit of a *Cupid*, *Livia* dedicated with great Solemnity in the Temple of *Venus* in the Capitol : And *Augustus* plac'd another in his Bed-Chamber, and always kiss'd it at his Entrance. The rest surviv'd their Father. Three were of the Female

M 5

Sex,

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\* The King of Parthia. He had several petty Kings subject to him, and is therefore styl'd *Rex Regum* ; the same proud Title as the Eastern Monarchs now affect to use.

† The Saturnalia.

†† See Page 217.



Sex, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla* and *Liuvilla*, who were born in three Years successively after each other ; and there were as many Sons, *Nero*, *Drusus* and *Caius Cæsar*. *Nero* and *Drusus* were proscrib'd by the Senate, at the Accusation of *Tiberius*.

8. *Caius Cæsar* was born the \* Day before the *Kalends* of *September*, his Father and *C. Fonteius Capito* being *Consuls*. The Reports concerning the Place of his Birth are so various, that it is altogether uncertain. *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* says he was born at *Tibur*, and †† *Pliny* among the \* *Treviri*, in the Village of †† *Ambiatinum*, near -|- *Confluentes* ; and as a Proof of it, he adds, an Altar was to be seen there with this Inscription,

O B  
A G R I P P I N Æ.  
P U E R P E R I U M.

F O R  
T H E S A F E D E L I V E R Y  
O F A G R I P P I N A.

This Couplet which appear'd after he was Emperor, shows he was born among the Legions, when they were in Winter-Quarters ;

*In-Castris natus, patriis nutritus in Armis,  
Jam designati Principis omen erat.*

Born in my Father's Camp, and bred in War,  
Forshew'd th' Imperial Purple which I bear.

By

\* August 31st.

†† The elder *Pliny*, who wrote the *Natural History*.

\* A People of the Upper Germany.

†† A Town on the Rhine.

-|- Call'd so because it stood at the Conflux of the Rhine and the Mosell ; now *Coblentz*.

By the Records of the Publick Acts, I find he was born at \* *Antium*. *Pliny* confutes *Getulicus*, as reporting a Falshood meerly out of Flattery, in order to derive some Glory to a young ambitious Prince, from the Circumstance of his receiving his Birth in a City sacred to *Hercules*; and says it is a very impudent Piece of Forgery, because *Germanicus's* Son who was born at *Tibur*, was born there a Year before, and was also call'd by the same Name, *Caius Cæsar*; concerning whose amiable Childhood and untimely Death, I have spoken above. But the Time it self disproves *Pliny*: For the Writers of *Augustus's* History agree, that *Germanicus* was sent to *Gaul* at the End of his Consulship, *Caius* being already born. Nor will the Inscription of the Altar be of any Service to *Pliny's* Opinion: For *Agrippina* lay in twice in those Parts of two Daughters; and any Birth is term'd *Puerperium*, without Distinction of Sex; the Antients calling Girls *Pueræ*, and Boys *Puelli*. There is an Epistle of *Augustus* also extant, written a few Months before his Death to his Niece *Agrippina*, in which he speaks thus concerning this *Caius* (for there was no other Infant of the Name then living :) Yesterday I order'd *Talarius* and *Asellius* to conduct your Child *Caius* to you, if the Gods think fit, on the † Fifteenth of the Kalends of June. I send with him also a Physician of my own Train, whom I wrote *Germanicus* Word, he might keep there with him, if he will. Farewel my *Agrippina*, and take Care that thou may'st meet thy *Germanicus* in good Health. Whence I think it is sufficiently clear, that *Caius* cou'd not be born at a Place to which he was not sent from *Rome* till he was near two Years old. This also destroys the Credit of those Verses, and the more easily, because they carry no Author's Name. The Authority therefore of the Publick Acts and Instruments which remain, is alone to be regarded; especially since *Caius* prefer'd *Antium* before all.

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\* A Sea-Port Town of Old Latium.

† May 18th.

all other Scenes of Recess, and took a Pleasure in it, as in the Place of his Nativity; and it is said, he intended to transfer thither the Seat and Residence of the Empire, being weary of Rome.

9. He receiv'd the Cognomen of \* *Caligula*, from a Jest made upon him in the Camp, where he was bred up in the Habit of the meanest Sort of Soldiers. What an Interest his being educated familiarly among them, gave him in the Love and Favour of the Soldiers, was particularly seen by this, That when they † mutiny'd upon the Death of *Augustus*, and were in the utmost Rage, they were appeas'd meerly by the Respect they bore to his Person: For they wou'd not desist, till they understood he was to be sent out of the Camp because of the Danger of the Insurrection, and to be lodg'd in the next City; at which immediately repenting themselves, they ran and stopt his Chariot, and begg'd him not to inflict on them the Disgrace they might have deserv'd to suffer.

10. He accompany'd his Father in his *Syrian Expedition*; and returning thence, he resided at first with his Mother, and when she was banish'd, with †† *Livia Augusta*, his Great Grand-Mother; upon whom he also pronounc'd a Funeral Oration from the *Rosera*, in his *Pratexta*: He dwelt next with his Grand-Mother *Antonia*; and *Tiberius* sending for him to *Caprea*

\* From *Caliga*, a Sort of Shoes worn by the Common Soldiers. His Mother craftily oblig'd him to wear their Habit, that she might insinuate him into their Affection by so unusual a Condescension.

†. When they refus'd to accept *Tiberius*, and wou'd have made *Germanicus*, the Father of *Caligula*, Emperor.

†† The Word *Augusta* is the Feminine Gender of the Adjective *Augustus*, and is equal to the Title of *Livia* the Empress. She assum'd this Style by the express Order of her Husband *Augustus* in his Will, p. 159.



*præ* when he was Twenty Years old, in one and the same Day he put on the Virile Gown, and first \* shav'd his Beard; without any of the Ceremonies which had been observ'd at that Season for his Brothers. Here all manner of † Wiles and Insinuations were practis'd on him, to betray him into some Complaints against *Tiberius*: But he never gave his Enemies the least Advantage, and forgot the Injuries offer'd his Relations, as if nothing had befallen them. What he endur'd himself, he pass'd by with incredible Dissimulation; and was so obedient and submissive to his X Grand-Father and those who were about him, that it was not undeservedly said, *There never was a better Servant, nor a worse Master known.*

11. Yet

\* *The Day of young Gentlemens first shaving their Beard, was observ'd as a Festival; they receiv'd Compliments upon it from their Acquaintance, and Gifts, and Offerings were also made to the Gods for their Prosperity and Health.*

*Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati, &c.  
Juv. Sat. 3.*

*To please our Patrons in this vicious Age,  
We make our Entrance by the Fav'rite Page;  
Shave his first Down, and when he polls his Hair,  
The consecrated Locks to Temples bear;  
Pay tributary Cracknels, which he sells,  
And by our Off'rings help to raise his Vails.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

† *His two Brothers were caught in this Snare, and lost their Lives, (p. 219.) however Caligula happen'd to escape. Perhaps the Terror of their Examples subdu'd his Resentments, and made him perpetually on his Guard; and his Mother, 'tis likely, caution'd him very strictly to govern his Passions; for he was scarcely Master of Cunning enough of himself to outwit Tiberius.*

X *Tiberius.*

11. Yet even then he cou'd not restrain his cruel and dissolute Nature, but took a Pleasure in being present at Punishments and Executions; and by Night frequented the Brothels and Houses of Adultery, disguis'd in a Peruke and loose wrapping-Gown, and passionately pursu'd the Theatrical Arts of Dancing and Singing: In all which *Tiberius* easily allow'd him, in hope they wou'd soften his rough and savage Disposition. For the sharp-sighted old Man saw so perfectly into his Genius, that he wou'd sometimes say prophetically, *Caius liv'd to be the Ruine of himself and of all Mankind; and that he bred up a*  
 \* *Serpent for the Roman People, and a Phaeton for the World.*

12. Not long † after, he marry'd *Junia Claudilla*, the Daughter of *M. Silanus*, a Man of the first Quality. And being elected Augur in the Room of his Brother *Drusus*, before he was invested with the Office, he was translated to the High Priesthood, with an extraordinary Character of his Piety and Qualifications. And the Imperial Family being very thin, and destitute of other Male Issue to support it; *Sejanus* being also already suspected, and shortly after destroy'd, he began to entertain some Expectation of the Succession: And to fortify his Pretensions the more, *Junia* dying in Child-Bed, he solicited *Ennia Nevia*, the Wife of *Macro*, who was then Commander of the †† Pretorian Cohorts, to debauch her, promising to marry her if he obtain'd the Empire, which he also confirm'd with an Oath, and sign'd the Contract. And having by her Means insinuated himself into her Husband, he undertook, as some believe, to poison *Tiberius*, and order'd his Ring to be taken off  
 while

\* *Natrix, a Water-Serpent.*

† *After his assuming the Virile Gown, says Babelonius.*

†† *The Emperor's Life-Guard. They were so powerful, that they frequently made whom they pleas'd Emperor; as the Janizaries have done among the Turks.*

while he was yet gasping ; and imagining the Emperor made a Shew of keeping it, he commanded a Pillow to be thrown upon him, and press'd it down on his Mouth, and smother'd him with his own Hand ; and a Freedman of *Tiberius* crying out at the Barbarity of the Action, he was presently taken and crucify'd. Nor is this unlikely to be true, since some report that he openly own'd he had formerly projected a Parricide, tho' he did not perpetrate it : For in repeating the Instances of his Affection and Duty to his Relations, he us'd to glory, *That he enter'd the Chamber of Tiberius as he was asleep, with a Dagger, to revenge the Death of his Mother and Brother, and being touch'd with Pity, he flung away his Weapon and withdrew ; and that Tiberius, \* tho' he knew of the Thing, neither dar'd to enquire into it, nor shew any Resentment.*

13. Thus he obtain'd the Empire according to the universal Desire of the *Romans*, or rather, of Human Kind ; and was a Prince inexpressibly grateful to the Provincial Governors and the Soldiers, most of whom had known him in his Infancy ; and even to the whole Body of the Common People of *Rome*, on the Account of his Father's Memory, and the Calamities of his Family, which was almost destroy'd. Therefore as he remov'd from *Miseno*, tho' he was in the Habit of Mourning, and follow'd the Funerals of *Tiberius*, yet every where on the Road he pass'd thro' Altars, Victims and kindled Torches, encompass'd with an innumerable Croud who met him full of Transport,

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\* *The Emendation which Torrentius offers, nec quemquam sensisse, instead of quanquam sensisset, makes Nonsense of the Passage: For if neither Tiberius, nor any one else knew of the Thing, where was the Wonder it was never resented? In all Probability this was only a vain-glorious Lie of Caligula, to persuade People that Tiberius was afraid of him.*



Transport, and beside the † happy Appellations, call'd him *Star, Nurſling, Love and Foster-Child*.

14. When he enter'd the City, the Will of *Tiberius*, by which his other Grandſon, who was yet a Youth, was left Coheir with him, was by the Conſent of the Senate, and a whole Croud which ruſh'd into the Houſe, \* made void, and the Right and Power of the whole was given him with ſo much Publick Joy, that in the three next Months, or leſs, above a Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Victims are ſaid to have been ſlain. And when he went a few Days after to the Iſlands near the *Campanian* Coaſt, they made Vows for his Return, no one omitting the leaſt Occaſion of teſtifying his Solicitude and Concern for his Safety. But when he happen'd to be taken ill, the People watch'd about the Palace all Night; nor were ſome wanting who vow'd †† to fight in ſingle Combat, and to lay down their Lives for his Recovery, which they ſignify'd in Bills publicly affix'd in the Streets. Beſide this unbounded Love of the *Romans*, the Affection of Foreigners to him was very remarkable. || For *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, who always hated *Tiberius* and deſpiſ'd him, voluntarily ſought his Friendſhip, and came to a Conference with the \* Conſular Lieutenant; and croſſing the *Euphrates*, worſhip'd the *Roman* Eagles and Enſigns, and the Images of the *Cæſars*.

15. He

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† *Fauſta Nomina*; ſuch were the Names *Fœlix, Pius, &c.*

\* We have lately ſeen a remarkable Parallel to this, in the Caſe of the Duke of Orleans; in whoſe Favour the Parliament of Paris ſet aſide the old King's Will, by which the Regency was, at beſt, divided between him and the Duke of Mayenne.

†† He took ſome at their Word afterwards, and made them execute their Compliment. See § 27.

|| See p. 234.

\* *Lucius Vitellius*. See the Life of the Emperor *Vitellius*, § 2.

15. He also engag'd the Passions of Mankind by all manner of Popularity. Having prais'd *Tiberius* in an Oration with a Flood of Tears, and given him a very noble Funeral, he hasten'd immediately to *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, to bring home the Ashes of his \* Mother and Brother, tho' the Weather was very tempestuous, that his Veneration and Respect for them might be the more conspicuous. He approach'd their Reliques with the highest Reverence, and put them into the † Urns with his own Hands: And having very ceremoniously with a Streamer display'd on the Stern of the Ship, brought them to *Ostia*, and from thence along the *Tiber* to *Rome*, they were borne on two Biers to the ‡ *Mausoleum* at Mid-Day, by the most Illustrious of the Equestrian Order. He instituted publick Sacrifices for their *Manes* to be offer'd every Year; and yet farther, for his Mother he appointed *Circensian* Games, and a X Chariot in which her Image was to be carry'd at the Time of those Sports: In Remembrance of his Father, he call'd the Month *September*, *Germanicus*. After this, he heap'd upon his Grand Mother *Antonia*, by one Decree of the Senate, all the Honours *Livia Augusta* had ever enjoy'd; and took his Uncle *Claudius*, who till then had

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\* *Agrippina and Nero. The Mother was banish'd to Pandataria by Tiberius, and Nero to Pontia. See p. 218, 219.*

† *Casaubon says, that Nero's Urn is still preserv'd at Rome, and has this Inscription, OSSA. NERONIS. CÆSARIS. GERMANICI. CÆSARIS. F. DIVI. AUG. PRON. FLAMIN. AUGUSTALIS. QUÆSTORIS. The Bones of Nero Cæsar, the Son of Germanicus Cæsar, Grandson of Divus Augustus, Flamen Augustalis and Questor.*

‡ *The Mausoleum which Augustus erected for his Family, p. 159.*

X *Carpentum, A Sort of sacred Chariots to carry the Images of the Gods at Processions; the Thensæ mention'd p. 45, were another.*

had been only a Roman Knight, for his Collegue in the Consulship ; and adopted his Brother Tiberius on the Day of his putting on the Gown of Manhood, and styl'd him *PRINCEPS JUVENUTIS*, Prince of the Youth. As to his Sisters, he caus'd this Clause to be added in the Publick Oaths, *Nor do I value myself and my Children more dearly than Caius and his Sisters* ; and to the Preamble with which the Reports of the Consuls began, \* *May it prove fortunate and happy to Cæsar and to his Sisters*. With the same Popularity also he acquitted those who lay under Sentence, and restor'd the banish'd, and pardon'd all Crimes which were committed formerly and were not yet determin'd. The Depositions which had been made against his Mother and Brothers, lest the Informers and Witnesses concern'd in them shou'd be held in perpetual Fear, he brought into the Forum ; and having appeal'd openly to the Gods, that he had neither read nor touch'd them, he † burnt them there. And some Papers being offer'd him concerning his own Security, he wou'd not receive them, replying, *He had done nothing to provoke any Man to be his Enemy* ; and declar'd, *He wou'd lend no Ear to Informers*.

16. Being with great Difficulty prevail'd on not to cast the †† Authors of monstrous Lusts into the Sea, he banish'd them from the City. He permitted the

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\* *Quod bonum felixq; sit : The solemn Form of Introduction with the Romans.*

† According to what Suetonius says § 30, this was a meer Deceit ; for he reserv'd the Papers he pretended to destroy, and made use of them against the Persons concern'd in them : And this is more probable, because his Temper was suspicious and revengeful.

†† *The Spintrix, mention'd p. 208 :*



the \* Writings of *Labiæus*, † *Cordus Cremutius* and †† *Cassius Severus*, which were order'd to be destroy'd by a Decree of the Senate, to be in every one's Hand, and commonly read, pretending it wou'd be for his Advantage, to have the great Actions of former Ages transmitted to Posterity. He publish'd the Accounts of the Empire, which us'd to be set forth by *Augustus*, and which *Tiberius* had discontinu'd, and allow'd the Magistrates an uncontroll'd Jurisdiction, without any Appeal to himself. He made a very strict and punctual Survey of the *Roman* Knights, yet not without great || Moderation; taking their Horse from such as were of a vile and scandalous Character, and those who were guilty of smaller Offences had their Names left out in calling over the Roll. And to ease the Labour of the Judges, beside the four former Decuries, he added a fifth. He attempted also to revive the Custom of the \* *Comitia*, and restore their Voices to the People. The Legacies express'd in *Tiberius's* Will, tho' it was cancell'd, and even in that of *Livia* which *Tiberius* himself had suppress'd, he paid so exactly, as to receive no Complaint. He remitted the Import  
of

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\* Seneca says, *Labiæus* laid the abolishing of his Writings so to Heart, that he caus'd his Servants to inclose him in the Sepulchre belonging to his Family, and pin'd himself to Death.

† See the Note p. 226.

†† An Orator who had generally very ill Success in his Pleadings, the Persons he accus'd being mostly acquitted; which occasion'd a Jest of *Augustus* upon him: The Architect of his new Forum (p. 81.) being in Fear how the People wou'd judge of the Building, I wish with all my Soul, says *Augustus*, *Cassius* wou'd arraign my Forum.

|| His Moderation consisted in punishing minute Offences only with omitting the Offenders Names at the Muster.

\* Assemblies of the People, for electing Magistrates and making Laws.

of the hundreth Part in Publick Sales, which was laid upon *Italy*; and made good their Loss by Fire to several. And if he gave back any Princes their Kingdoms, he also restor'd them the whole Profits of their Revenues and Tributes arisen in the Interim: As to *Antiochus* of \* *Camagena*, he restor'd a † Hundred Millions of Sesterces, which had been confiscated. And that he might seem to be an Encourager of good Examples in every Kind, he presented a freed Woman with †† Eighty Thousand Sesterces, because tho' she was put to the most violent Tortures, she made no Discovery of her Master's Crime. For these Things therefore, among other Honours, he had a Golden Shield decreed him; which upon a certain Day every Year, the Colleges of the Priests were to \* carry into the Capitol, follow'd by the Senate, and Boys and Girls of Noble Families, singing the Praises of his Virtues in Verses set to Musick; and it was decreed, the Day of his Accession to the Empire shou'd be call'd X *Palilia*, as if the City had been then founded anew.

17. He held four Consulships; the first for two Months from the Kalends of *July*, the second for thirty Days from the Kalends of *January*, the third to the \*\* Ides of *January*, and the fourth to the †† seventh

\* *A small Country by the River Euphrates, between Mesopotamia and Cilicia, now call'd Azar.*

† 2500000 Crowns.

†† 2000 Crowns.

\* This was paying him Divine Honour; for such Processions us'd to be made to the Gods.

X *Palilia* were Feasts in Honour of *Pales*, Goddess of Flocks, instituted by *Romulus* to be held on the Day he founded the City.

\*\* *January* 13th.

†† *January* 7th.

venth of the same Ides : Of all which, he -|- join'd together only the last two without Interruption. He enter'd upon the third at *Lyons* singly, and had no Colleague ; not, as some imagine, out of Pride or Negligence ; but his Colleague dying the very Day of the Kalends, it was impossible for him to be apprisd of it at such a Distance. He twice gave a Congiary of † Three Hundred Sesterces to the People, and as often a magnificent Entertainment to the Senate and the Equestrian Order, together with their Wives and Children ; in the last of which he distributed Forensick Garments to the Men, and Scarfs of Purple and Scarlet to the Boys and the Women : And to make an Inlargement to the Publick Joy for ever, he added a Day to the *Saturnalia*, and call'd it \* *Juvenilis*.

18. He exhibited Combats of Gladiators, partly in the Amphitheatre of ‡ *Taurus*, and partly in the *Septa*, accompanying them at the same Time with Bands of the best *African* and *Camparian* Champions, select'd out of both Countries. He was not always || present

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-|- Consulships were said to be conjoyn'd, when the Person enter'd upon them both on the Kalends of January, which was the Day appropriated for Magistrates to begin their Offices. Tiberius dying in March, Caligula cou'd not enter on his first Consulship on the Kalends of January ; and consequently cou'd not that and the second together : And as he reign'd but three Years and ten Months, he cou'd not hold four regular Consulships. Babelonius.

† i. e. To each Man, as appears by the Smalness of the Summ.

\* Because he design'd it for the Diversion of the Youth.

‡ Statilius Taurus. See p. 82.

|| This Circumstance of being present, and presiding at the Games, is particularly mention'd, because it was a great Honour to be President, and the People were pleas'd with having the Emperor present. It is therefore observ'd as a Piece of unpopular Ill-Nature in Tiberius, that he was generally absent, p. 244.



sent at the Shews himself, but sometimes order'd the Magistrates or his Friends to execute the Part of President for him. He had Stage-Plays very often, of various Kinds, and in different Manners; for sometimes they were by Night, the whole City being illuminated. At which Seasons he scatter'd several Sorts of Things among the People, and caus'd Wicker Baskets with variety of Victuals to be carry'd round to them Man by Man; and observing once that a *Roman* Knight who was plac'd over against him, fed very heartily, he sent him his own Portion; and upon the same Account he sent a Senator a Commission, by which he created him Pretor extraordinarily. He presented *Circensian* Games from Morning to Evening, sometimes in the midst of them introducing the Hunting of Wild Beasts of *Africa*, and sometimes the *Trojan* Exercise. When the principal Shews were perform'd, the *Circus* was strew'd with \* Vermilion and Green; and scarcely any drove the Race-Chariots, but Persons of the Senatorian Order. Once as he was beholding the Preparations for the Sports in the *Circus*, from the *Clotian* Palace, he gave the Signal on a sudden, because a few who were in the Balconies hard by, desir'd it.

19. He invented a new and unheard of Kind of Spectacle. For he join'd together the Space between *Baia* and the Moles of *Puteoli*, by a Bridge of almost Three Miles and Six Hundred Paces; assembling Ships of Burden from all Parts, and having fix'd them down by Anchors in two Rows, he spread a Flooring of Earth upon them all level in a Line, after the manner of the *Appian* Way. Over this Bridge he pass'd to and fro for two Days successively. On the first he was mounted on a Horse nobly caparison'd, being adorn'd with an † Oaken Crown, and

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\* *Instead of Sand, with which it was commonly strew'd.*

† *A Civic Crown. See the Note p. 2.*

and arm'd with an †† Ax, a Buckler and a Sword, and cloath'd with a Cymar of Gold: The next Day he was in the Habit of a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by two celebrated Horses; *Darius* a Boy, one of the *Parthian* Hostages sitting before him, accompany'd by a Troop of the Pretorian Guards, and a Number of his Friends in \* Wains. I know some were of Opinion, that he fram'd this Bridge out of an Emulation of *Xerxes*, who to the Wonder of Mankind laid one, which yet was something less, over the *Hellespont*; and others thought he did it to terrify the *Germans* and *Britons*, whom he design'd to invade, with the Fame of some prodigious Undertaking: But I have heard my Grand-Father say when I was a Boy, the Reason which the Courtiers who were most intimate with him, gave of it, was, that when *Tiberius* was very anxious concerning a Successor, and was more inclin'd to fix upon his own Grand-Son, *Thrasyllus* the Astrologer assur'd him, Caius shou'd no more come to be Emperor, than he shou'd ride over the Bay of *Baixæ* on Horseback.

20. He also exhibited Spectacles in foreign Parts; as in *Sicily*, where he gave them the *Athenian* Games, and presented miscellaneous Sports at *Lyons* in *Gaul*, and a Prize of Eloquence in *Greek* and *Latin*: In which Dispute the Vanquish'd, 'tis said, were oblig'd to present Rewards to the Victors, and to make Orations in their Praise; and those whose Performances were most exploded, were order'd to blot out their Writings with a Sponge, or with their Tongue, unless they chose rather to be chastis'd with Ferula's, or to be thrown into the next River.

21. He finish'd the Buildings which *Tiberius* had left imperfect, as the Temple of *Augustus* and *Pompey's* Theatre; and began an Aquaduct in the *Tiburine* Region,

†† The Arms of the Amazons.

\* *Elleda*, Chariots us'd by the Gauls and Britons. See the Plate.

Region, and an Amphitheatre near the *Septa*; of which Works one was compleated by his Successor *Claudius*, and the other was neglected. The Walls of *Syracuse*, which were fallen by length of Time, he repair'd, and the Fanes of the Gods; and intend- ed to rebuild the Palace of \* *Polycrates* at *Samos*, and to perfect the Temple of *Apollo Didymæus* at *Miletus*; to found a City on the Top of the *Alps*; but above all to cut thro' the † *Isthmus* of *Achaia*, and even sent a Principal Centurion of a Legion to measure the Ground.

22. Thus far I have spoken of him as a Prince; the succeeding Part of the History will relate the Actions as it were of a Monster. Having assum'd a world of Surnames, as *Pius*, \* *Castrorum Filius*, *Pater Exercituum*, and *Optimus Maximus Caesar*; and happen- ing to hear some Kings, who were come to *Rome* to do him Honour, disputing among themselves con- cerning Nobility of Birth, he cry'd out, Εἷς καὶ βασιλεὺς ἔστω, εἷς βασιλεὺς, *There must be but one Prince, and one King*. And was just on the point of immediately putting on the Diadem, and changing the †† *Impe- rial Ensigns* into *Regal*; but being reminded, that he

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\* The famous Tyrant of *Samos*. He had for a long Time a Course of surprising Prosperity; but at last *Oron- tes* the Persian took him Prisoner, and crucify'd him.

† The *Isthmus* of *Corinth*. Julius and other Princes had also form'd the same Design in vain.

\* This and the next Title allude, 'tis likely, to his being born in the Camp, according to the Verses p. 252, and to the Sway he had with the Army: And the other, *Opti- mus Maximus*, seems to be assum'd out of an Affectation of Divinity, it being the Style of *Jupiter*.

†† This only flatter'd his Vanity, and was no Addition to his Power. For tho' the Romans cou'd submit to live in as much Subjection to their Emperors, as other Nations did to their Kings; yet they cou'd not endure the Sceptre, Diadem, &c. regarding them as Badges of Servitude, and as the Marks of a foreign Dominion.



he was already superiour both to Princes and Kings, he began to claim to himself the Majesty of a God. Accordingly he caus'd the Images which were celebrated for exquisite Workmanship and for Crouds of Worshippers, and among them the Statue of *Jupiter Olympicus*, to be transported from Greece, in order to take off the Heads of them, and set on his own; and he extended one Part of the Palace as far as the Forum, which made the Fane of *Castor* and *Pollux* appear meerly as a Portico to it. Here he often shew'd himself to be worshipp'd, sitting between the two Brother-Gods, and some saluted him with the Style of \* *Jupiter Latialis*. He inscrib'd a Temple also to his own Divinity, for which he instituted a College of Priests, and provided the noblest Victims. In the Temple there stood a Golden Image of him exactly after the Life, which was cloath'd every Day in the same Habit as he wore himself. All the richest Persons strove for the Office of the Priesthood when it fell, and endeavour'd to purchase it at the highest Price. His Victims were Phœnicopters, Peacocks, Bustards, *Numidian* Hens, Birds of *Leros*, and Pheasants, which were offer'd up every Day according to their Kind. At Night he constantly made court to the full † Moon when she shone

N

brightly,

\* The Temple of *Jupiter Latialis* was built upon Mount *Albanus* by *Tarquin the Proud*. He was call'd *Jupiter Latialis*, because he was worshipp'd by the People of *Latium*, and was their supreme Tutelary God.

† After the Example of *Endymion*, with whom the Poets feign'd the Moon to be in Love, and that she came down to meet him on the Top of Mount *Latmos* in *Asia*, and spent whole Nights in the Amour. *Endymion* was King of *Elis*, and losing the Prize at the *Olympick Games*, is said to have retir'd to Mount *Latmos*, where he employ'd himself in making *Astronomical Observations* upon the Stars and the Moon, from whence the Fable plainly arose.

brightly, and invited her to his Embraces and his Bed. In the Day, he held private Conversations with *Jupiter Capitolinus*; sometimes whispering to the Image, and then turning his Ear to it to listen, and sometimes raising his Voice with menacing Expressions. For he was over-heard to threaten,

*Ἔτι γαίῃ Δαναῶν πέγῳ σὺ.*

I'll send you packing to Greece again.

At last being reconcil'd, as he gave out, by \* *Jupiter's* Entreaties, and invited by him into his Apartment, he carry'd a Gallery over the Temple of *Augustus*, and join'd the Palace and the Capitol together; and that he might be yet nearer to the God, he laid the Foundation of a new House close by the Capitol.

23. He desir'd he might neither be esteem'd nor call'd the Grandson of † *Agrippa*, because of his mean Original; and was angry if any one in an Oration, or a Poem, mention'd † his having his Statue plac'd among

\* That is, *Jupiter* being afraid of his Menaces, humbly su'd for Favour; and assuring him, if he wou'd be so gracious as not to turn him out of his Temple, and transport him to Greece, he was very willing he shou'd share the Capitol with him, and desires him in a respectful Manner, he wou'd be pleas'd to honour him with the Company of his Divinity. *Caligula* with great Condescension accepts the Proposal, and provides himself an Avenue to the Temple; and not thinking that sufficient, builds him a House just beside it.

† Upon the Death of her first Husband *Marcellus*, *Agrippa* marry'd *Julia* the Daughter of *Augustus*, by whom he had *Agrippina*, *Caligula's* Mother by *Germanicus*. See p. 111, 112.

‡ Viz. *Agrippa's*; for this was asserting him to be of the Family of the Cæsars; and the senseless Pride of *Caligula* affected rather to be thought born in Incest, than descended from him.

among those of the *Cæsars*. He affirm'd also, that his Mother was begotten incestuously by †† *Augustus* on his Daughter *Julia*. And not content with this Defamation of *Augustus*, he forbad the \* *Ætlian* and *Sicilian* Victories to be celebrated with solemn Holidays, as having been pernicious to the *Roman* People. His Grand-Mother *Livia*, he commonly call'd a † *She-Ulysses*, and had the Boldness to accuse her of an obscure Descent in a Letter to the Senate; as if *Aufidius Lingo*, her Grandfather by the Mother's Side, were only a || *Decurio* at X *Fundi*, when 'tis certain by publick Monuments, that he enjoy'd several Honours at *Rome*. His Grand-Mother *Antonia* desiring to speak with him in private, he refus'd to admit her, unless *Macro*, a Prefect of the Guards, was present:

N 2

sent:

†† Whether this Imputation on *Augustus* be just, or only a groundless Slander of *Caligula's*, 'tis certain *Julia's* Character was abandon'd enough to admit it, and *Augustus* himself was too dissolute to make such a Supposition impossible. It has been thought, that *Ovid* ow'd his Banishment to his surprising the Emperor at unaware in these infamous Embraces, and that he alludes to it when he says,

Cur aliquid vidi? cur conscia lumina feci?

tho' he durst not declare it expressly.

\* Thus *Tiberius* vilify'd the great Actions and Victories of *Germanicus*, p. 216.

† *Ulysses Stolatus*. This Character of *Livia* is just, and is properly express'd: For as *Ulysses* was fam'd for Subtilty and crafty Counsels, *Livia* excell'd in the Art of Political Intrigues and Cunning.

|| A Common Council-Man, or Alderman of the Town: For when the Romans sent a Colony to any Place, they appointed a tenth Part of them to be a Council to the Corporation, who from thence were call'd *Decuriones*.

X See Page 168.



sent: And by such like \* Indignities and Vexations he was the Cause of her Death, having also, as some believe, given her a Dose of Poyson. Nor did he pay her any Honours after her Death; but as her Pile was burning, he view'd it from his Parlour-Window. He slew his Brother † *Tiberius* by Surprise, sending in a Military Tribune to dispatch him on a sudden; and his Father-in-Law || *Silanus* he forc'd to destroy himself, and cut his Throat with a Razor. He pretended *Silanus* had refus'd to follow him when he put to Sea in tempestuous Weather, and staid behind to seize upon the City, if any Mischief shou'd befall him in the Storm; and that *Tiberius* smell'd strong of an Antidote he had taken out of Precaution lest he shou'd poyson him: Whereas *Silanus*, by refusing to embark with him, only design'd to avoid the Trouble of being Sea-sick, and to escape the Fatigue of the Voyage; and *Tiberius* had us'd a Medicine for a violent Cough, with which he had been long afflicted. Nor did he reserve his Uncle *Claudius* for his Successor, but in †† Derision and Sport.

24. He defil'd all his Sisters, and at a full Table plac'd each of them by turns in his \* Bosom, while  
his

\* 'Tis likely, his Hatred to her arose from her surprising him once in Incest with his Sister. See p. 269.

† Not long before, he had shewn extraordinary Favour to him, adopting him, and creating a new Title for him. Page 258.

|| Page 254.

†† He look'd upon him as little better than a Changeling, and pleas'd himself with thinking what a ridiculous Figure he wou'd make when he came to the Empire. Thus *Mustapha*, the Uncle of Sultan *Morat*, ow'd his Life also to his Folly.

\* The Roman Custom was to lie on Beds at their Meals. Each Bed was contriv'd to hold three Persons, and thence  
came

his Wife lay behind. Of these he is thought to have deflower'd *Drusilla* while he was yet a Boy ; and he was surpriz'd in her Embraces by his Grand-Mother *Antonia*, with whom they were educated together. He took her afterwards from *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, a Consular Man to whom she was marry'd, and openly kept her as his lawful Wife, and in his Sickness appointed her for the Heiress of his Goods and the Empire. When she dy'd, he ordain'd a Vacation, during which it was a Capital Crime for any Man to laugh, to wash, or to sup with his Parents, or his Wife, or Children. And in the Impatience of his Grief hurrying out of Town suddenly by Night, and posting thro' *Campania*, he went to *Syracuse* ; and from thence again return'd hastily to the City, without having shav'd his Beard. And ever after, upon all Occasions, and even in his Speeches to the People or Soldiers, he swore only by the Deity of *Drusilla*. His other Sisters he neither lov'd with so inflam'd an Affection, nor treated in so honourable a Manner, having often prostituted them to his Catamites. He condemn'd them therefore the more readily at the Trial of \* *Æmilius Lepidus*, as guilty of Adultery, and privy to that Conspiracy against himself. And he not only publish'd the Papers

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of

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same the Name *Triclinium*. They rested on one Side ; and therefore of three Persons lying together, one necessarily lay in the Bosom of him who was in the Middle, and the other lay behind. The highest Place was esteem'd the most honourable, and next to that the middle: Accordingly Caligula here places his Wife above him out of a pretended Respect, and himself in the midst, his Sister lying close to his Breast below, for Wantonness and Dalliance.

\* He marry'd Caligula's Sister *Drusilla*, after *Longinus*, from whom her Brother took her by Violence. *Agrippina* seeing him to be a Man of a bold and enterprising Spirit, prostituted herself to him to engage him in her Interest, that by his Assistance she might obtain the Empire.

of all the Partifans, which he obtain'd by Fraud, and by debauching the Wives of the Persons concern'd, but also consecrated three Daggers which were provided for his Murder, to *Mars the Avenger*, with an Inscription expressing the Fact.

25. It is not ealy to determine, whether he made, or broke, or observ'd his Marriages with greater Infamy. Being present out of Respect at the Nuptials of *Livia Orestilla* with *C. Piso*, he commanded her to be carry'd home to his Palace, and within a few Days turn'd her off; and two Years after, he banish'd her, because she seem'd to have return'd to the Arms of her former Husband. Others say, that being at the Marriage-Supper by Invitation, he sent *Piso*, who lay over against him at Table, this Message, *Don't touch my Wife*; and immediately led her away; and declar'd the next Day in an Edict, that he had made his Marriage after the Example of † *Romulus* and *Augustus*. Upon an accidental Mention of her Grand-Mother as an extraordinary Beauty in her Time, he immediately order'd †† *Lollia Paulina*, who was marry'd to *C. Memmius* a Consular Man, and Commander of the Army, to be brought to him out of the Province; and parting her from her Husband, marry'd her himself, and in a short Time dismiss'd her, and interdicted her the Embraces of any Man for ever. *Cæsonia*, who was neither handsome nor in her Prime, and who was also a Mother of three Daughters by another Man, and a Woman of the utmost Lasciviousness and Luxury, he lov'd with so much Ardour

\* Forbidding him to consummate the Marriage, and telling him in other Words, he wou'd have her for his own.

† *Romulus* seiz'd a Wife by Force at the Rape of the Sabine Women; and *Augustus* took *Livia* when she was big with Child, from her Husband *Tiberius Nero*.

†† She was the Grand-Daughter of *M. Lollius*, *Caligula's* Tutor. See p. 178, 179. She was marry'd afterwards to the Emperor *Claudius*.



Ardour and Constancy, that he often shew'd her to the Army, riding by his Side, array'd with a \* Military Scarf, and arm'd with a Shield and Helmet, and to his Friends he expos'd her naked. He also honour'd her with the Name of † *Wife*, and in one and the same Day, both declar'd himself her Husband and the Father of the Girl which was born of her. He nam'd the Child *Julia Drusilla*; and carrying her round the Temples of all the Goddesses, laid her down in *Minerva's* Lap, commending her to the Deity to be foster'd and train'd up. Nor was he convinc'd she was his own Offspring by any thing so much as by her Barbarity, which was so great even in her tender Age, that she wou'd endeavour to scratch and tear the Eyes and Mouths of her Play-Fellows with her Fingers.

26. It wou'd be a low and trifling Thing to add, after what Manner he treated his Relations and Friends. As *Ptolemy* the Son of King *Juba*, and his Cousin *German* (for he was *M. Anthony's* Grand-Son by his Daughter \* *Selena*) and particularly †† *Macro* and *Ennia*, who had assisted him in gaining the Empire, all whom he cut off by a cruel Death, in Contempt of the Rights of Kindred and the Largeness of their Merits. Nor did he shew more Respect or

N. 4

Lenity

\* *The Habit of an Amazon, for which Caligula seems to have had a wonderful Fancy.*

† *Tho' he own'd himself to be marry'd to others before, yet he gave Cæsonia this Title in Form. It signify'd as much as Empress, or Queen-Consort, and was meerly an Honour; but it invested her with no Share in the Administration.*

\* *Mark Anthony's Daughter by Cleopatra. Her Name signifies the Moon, in Greek σελήνη; for in their Revels at the Rites of Isis, She and Anthony appear'd in the Habit of a God and Goddess, under the Names of Bacchus and Luna.*

†† See Page 254.

Lenity towards the Senate: some of whom who had borne the highest Honours, he suffer'd to run by his Chariot in their Gowns for several Miles, and to stand sometimes at his Head, and sometimes at his Feet, girt with X Linnen Towels while he was at Supper; others, tho' he had destroy'd them privately, he yet continu'd to enquire for as if they were alive, and after a few Days pretended they had made themselves away by a voluntary Death. The Consuls forgetting to proclaim his Birth-Day, he depriv'd them of their Office, and the Commonwealth was without the \* supreme Magistrates for three Days. His Questor being nam'd in a Conspiracy, he scourg'd him, and pull'd off his Vest to lay it under the Soldiers Feet, that they might stand the firmer to strike the Blows. He treated the other Orders also with equal Pride and Violence. Being disturb'd by the Noise of the People crouding at Midnight into the Places in the *Circus* for which they paid no Money, he had them all driven out with Clubs; in which Tumult above twenty *Roman* Knights were press'd to Death, and as many Matrons, beside an infinite Number of others. At the Stage-Plays, to set the Common People and the Knights together by the Ears, he threw about the Tickets for the Presents he design'd to distribute among them, sooner than the usual Hour, that the Rabble might rush into their Seats and keep out the Knights. At the Combats of the Gladiators, when the Sun shone out melting hot, he drew back the || Curtains, and forbid any one to quit the Place. He wou'd change the common Methods of the Exercise, and bring upon the Stage Wild Beasts which were half starv'd and founder'd.

X Like the common Slaves who waited.

\* The Consuls.

|| The Roman Theatres were open at the Top. The Use of Curtains to screen the Spectators was first introduc'd by Q. Catulus, who is mention'd p. 8.

founder'd; and, to encounter them, a Set of wretched Gladiators, who were decrepit with Age, and even noted Masters of Families, who were remarkable for some bodily Weakness and Defect. And sometimes he shut up the Granaries, and sold the People they shou'd fast.

27. The Cruelty of his Temper appears chiefly by these Instances. The Cattel with which they fattened the Beasts for the Shews, being very dear, he mark'd out some of the Criminals to be slaughter'd for that Service; and reviewing the Prisoners who were plac'd in a Rank before him, he never troubled himself to look over any one's Indictment, but only as he stood in the Middle of the Row, \* *From Bald-Head to Bald-Head*, says he to the Executioner, and order'd him to lead them off. He oblig'd a certain Person who had vow'd to combat for his Health, to make good his Word, and look'd on while he fought; nor did he release him till he had won the Victory, and after a World of Intreaties: Another having vow'd he wou'd die on the same Account, and delaying to fulfil his Promise, he deliver'd him up, dress'd with † Vervain and Ribbands, to the Boys, to drive him thro' the Streets and call on him to execute his Vow, till they made him throw himself from the Top of an Eminence. Many who were of an honourable Fortune, having first branded them, he condemn'd to the Mines, or to working on the Publick Ways, or to the Beasts; or shut them up in a narrow Cage, which constrain'd them to stand upon all four, like Cattle; or else he saw'd them asunder in the Middle. Nor did these suffer for flagrant Offences, but either for having dislik'd his Shews, or because they had never sworn by his Genius. He forc'd Parents

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\* He observ'd, 'tis likely, that a Bald-Head stood at each End of the Row, and therefore us'd this Expression, to bid him take them all away in a Body and execute them.

† After the Manner of a Victim to be sacrific'd.



to be present at the Execution of their \* Sons; and one excusing himself because of Sickneſs, he ſent him his † Litter. Another he took with him directly from the Sight of the Punishment to a Banquet, and with the highest Pleaſantry call'd upon him to be merry. The Maſter of his Gladiators and Wild Beaſts, he cauſ'd to be cramp'd with Irons, and beaten for two Days together before his Eyes, and did not kill him outright till his Brain was putrify'd, and offended him with the Stench: He burnt a ‡ Stage-Poet in the Middle of the Theatre, for an ambiguous Jeſt in one of his Verſes. A Roman Knight who was thrown to the Beaſts, crying out that he was innocent, he had him taken up, and cutting out his Tongue, threw him to them again.

28. Enquiring of one whom he recall'd from a former Banishment, how he us'd to employ his Time there, and the other in Flattery answering, *I was always praying to the Gods, that, as it has prov'd, Tiberius might periſh, and You might reign*; he thought the Perſons he had baniſh'd alſo pray'd for his Death, and ſent ſome round the Iſlands where they were, to cut their Throats. Having a great Mind to get a Senator †† torne in Pieces, he ſuborn'd ſome to call him a || Publick Enemy on a ſudden as he enter'd the

\* This and his urging them afterwards to be merry, are as ſtrong Expreſſions of Barbarity as can eaſily be imagin'd.

† To bring him, if he was not able to walk.

‡ Atellanæ (ſcil. Fabulæ) Poeta. One who wrote Atellanic Farces. See the Note p. 209.

†† Caligula ſeems to have ſet his Mind upon this particular Circumſtance of Barbarity, and to have reſolv'd to ſee it executed; for he was not ſatisfy'd with murdering the Man, but cauſ'd his Carcaſs to be torne in Pieces after he was ſtabb'd.

|| That is, Traytor, or Out-Law. The Ruſſians rais'd this Cry upon the Senator, that the Perſons who were by might imagine him to be really ſuch, and not interpoſe to ſave him.

the House, and attack him; and after they had stabb'd him with their Styles, to deliver him up to the rest of their Party to be pull'd asunder. Nor was he satisfy'd, till he saw the Members, Joints and Bowels of the Man dragg'd thro' the Streets, and pil'd in a Heap before him.

29. He heighten'd the Cruelty of his Deeds by the Barbarity of his Expressions. There was nothing in his Temper, he said, which he so much lik'd and applauded, as, to use his own Word, his \* ἀσπασμα. His Grand-Mother *Antonia* advising him once upon a certain Affair, as if it was a small Thing not to follow her Counsel, *Pray remember*, says he, 'tis lawful for me to do whatever I please with any Man. When he was about to kill his Brother, and suspecting he had fortify'd himself against Poyson by proper Medicines, † *What*, says he, *an Antidote against Cæsar?* He threaten'd his Sisters whom he banish'd, that he had not only Islands, but Swords at his Command. A Pretorian Man often soliciting from his Retirement at X *Anticyra*, whither he went on Account of his Health, for Leave to be absent longer; he commanded him to be slain, adding, *Bleeding is necessary for one who in so long a Time has receiv'd no Good by Hellebore.* Every || tenth Day, when he sign'd the Warrant for the Criminals to suffer, he said he was clearing

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\* His inflexible Obstinacy in his Resolutions, which no Counsels nor Persuasions cou'd alter.

† In a proud Rage, that Tiberius shou'd think any thing cou'd defend his Life, when he was pleas'd to invade it.

X An Island of Greece, fam'd for good Hellebore, and much resorted to upon that Account by the Romans; among whom Hellebore was in great Request, for its salutary Effects.

|| The tenth after Condemnation; for by a Decree of the Senate, the Criminals were repriev'd so long after the Sentence. See P. 243.

ing off his Accounts. Having condemn'd some Gauls and Greeks together at one time, Now, says he in a vaunting Manner, *I think I have subdu'd † Gallogræcia.*

30. He very seldom permitted any one to be put to Death, but by small and often repeated Stabs; it being a perpetual and known Instruction with him, *Ita feri, ut se mori sentiat: Strike so as he may \* feel himself die.* Having once, by a Mistake of the Name, executed a Person whom he did not design, He deserv'd it, says he, *as well as the other.* He frequently repeated those Words of the Tragedy,

*Oderint, dum metuant.*

Let them hate, so they fear.

He often inveigh'd against all the Senators without Distinction, as Friends of *Sejanus*, or \* Delators of his Mother and his Brothers, producing the X Papers he pretended were burnt, and justifying *Tiberius's* Cruelty as even necessary, since it was impossible for him not to believe such a Multitude of Accusers. He was continually reviling the Equestrian Order, for being addicted to the Entertainments of the Stage and *Circus*. Being provok'd at the People's favouring the || contrary Faction to him, he cry'd out, †† *I wish the Roman People had but one Neck.*  
And

† A Pun upon the Words Gaul and Greek, and the Name of the Country call'd Gallogræcia.

\* The same Strain of Cruelty as was in *Tiberius*. See p. 186.

\* Informers, call'd Delatores by the Romans.

X See p. 258.

|| The Factions were distinguish'd by their Colours: The Colours were Blew, Red, White and Green; Domitian afterwards added two, the Golden and Purple. The Faction *Caligula* espous'd was the Green.

†† That he might strike it off at a Blow.





And when they call'd out to have *Tetrinius* the Robber brought on upon the Stage, he said, *They were themselves Tetrinius's*. Five \* *Retiarii* in their † *Tunics* fighting in a Company, yielded themselves without any Dispute to as many Pursuers; and being order'd to be slain, one of them snatch'd up his Trident and slew all the Victors: This he ‡ deplor'd in an Edict as a most barbarous Piece of Butchery, and execrated those who cou'd bear to behold it.

31. He us'd openly to lament the Condition of his Times, that they were not render'd remarkable by some publick Calamities: Complaining that *Augustus's* Reign was made memorable by the || *Varian* Slaughter, and *Tiberius's* by the X Fall of the Theatre at *Fidenæ*; but that the Prosperity of his own, wou'd sink his Name in Oblivion. Therefore he wish'd for a Destruction of Armies, a Famine, a Pestilence, and for terrible Fires, and Gapings of the Earth.

32. In

\* *Gladiators who fought with a Trident and a Net, in Latin Rete, from whence their Name. They held the Net gather'd ready for the Cast, and attempted to catch the Head of their Adversary in it; if the Throw succeeded, they dispatch'd him with their Trident. The Gladiators their Antagonists were call'd Secutores, or Pursuers: They were arm'd with a Sword, a small Shield and a Helmet, on the Top of which was the Figure of a Fish; at this the Rhetarius directed his Aim.*

† *A Garment more convenient for Action than the Toga, or Gown, as being closer body'd, and not reaching below the middle Leg.*

‡ *The seeing so many Men put to Death cou'd not give Caligula this Compunction; but he favour'd the Pursuers, as he did the Faction of the Green in the other Sports, and his Concern arose from thence.*

|| See Page 75.

X See Page 206.

32. In his Diversions and Entertainments for unbending his Mind, the same Barbarity appear'd thro' all his Words and Actions. Persons were often examin'd by Torture before his Face as he was at Dinner, or Revelling; while a Soldier, who was a skillful Headsman, struck off the Heads of any Criminals he thought fit. At the Dedication of his †† Bridge at *Puteoli*, which, as we observ'd, was his own projecting, having invited a great Number to come to him upon it from the Shore, on a sudden he push'd them all into the Sea; and some catching hold on the Rudders, he beat them off with Oars and Poles. At a publick Feast in *Rome*, a Slave having stol'n a Piece of Silver from one of the \* Beds, he deliver'd him immediately to the Executioner to cut off his Hands and hang them about his Neck, and so lead him round the Company with them dangling down upon his Breast; and a Label expressing his Crime. A *Mirmillo* fighting with him at Foils in Sport, and † throwing himself down at his Feet on purpose, he stabb'd him with a Poinard, and ran about with a Palm in his Hand after the Manner of Victors in the Games. A Victim being led to the Altar, he stood there girt in the Habit of the †† *Pope*, and lifting up the Ax, struck down a Sacrificer instead of the Beast. Bursting into a great Laugh once at a sumptuous Banquet, and the Consuls who were next him pleasantly asking him what gave him such Diversion; Only, says he, *that at a single Nod I can cause both your Throats to be cut.*

33. Among

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†† See Page 262.

\* They us'd to case the Steds with thin Plates of Silver, and it was Part of this which the Slave broke off and stole.

† To make Caligula the Complement of the Victory.

†† Inferior Officers, who knock'd the Victims on the Head and embowell'd them: They were naked from the Waste upward, and were girt with a Linnen Apron which hung down to their Feet.



33. Among other Jests; as he stood by the Image of *Jupiter*, he ask'd *Apelles* the Tragedian, which of them made the noblest Figure; and because he did not immediately answer, he tore him with Scourges; at every turn, while he cry'd out for Mercy, commending his Voice, as having a particular Sweetness in it even in his Groans. Whenever he kiss'd the Neck of his Wife or Mistress, *So fair a Neck*, added he, *can I strike off with a Word*; often protesting, *He wou'd put his Cælonia to the Rack*, but he wou'd know why he lov'd her so extravagantly.

34. Nor was he less transported with Spite and Malice, than with Pride and Cruelty against Persons of every Age. The Statues of Illustrious Men, which *Augustus* had set in the *Campus Martius*, the Court of the Capitol not being large enough to hold them, he so threw down and ruin'd, that it was impossible to restore them and recover the Inscriptions. And after this, he forbid a Statue or Image to be erected to any one living, without his Knowledge and Direction. He had it in his Thoughts also to abo'ish *Homer's* Poems; For why might it not be lawful, he said, for him to do what *Plato* had done, who expell'd him out of the Commonwealth he had form'd. And he was on the point of removing the Writings of *Virgil* and *T. Livy* from all Libraries, censuring the one as a Man of no Genius and less Learning, and the other, as verbose and negligent in his History. Concerning the Lawyers, as if he design'd to extirpate the Profession, he often boasted, *By Hercules he wou'd bring it about, that they shou'd have no other Answer to return their Clients, than The Prince must decide it.*

35. He took from every Noble Person the Marks of Honour which belong'd to the Family; as the † Chain from *Torquatus*, the Lock of Hair from

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† In Latin, *Torques*. *Manlius* first receiv'd that Name from his taking a Golden Chain from a Gaul, whom he slew in single Combat.

\* *Cincinnatus*, and the Surname of *Great* from *Cn. Pompey*, who was of that Line *Ptolemy*, whom I mention'd before, he invited to him from his Kingdom, and receiv'd him very honourably, and on a sudden murder'd him for no other Reason, than because when he came in at a Shew of Gladiators which he exhibited, he observ'd he drew the Eyes of all Men upon him by the Splendidness of his Purple Robe. Whenever he met with any who were very handsome and had curious Heads of Hair, he had them shav'd behind to deform them. *Eslius Proculus*, whose Father was the chief Officer of a Legion, for his large and comely Stature was call'd † *Collossus*: Him he caus'd to be dragg'd on a sudden out of his Seat in the Theatre, and to be set upon the Stage; exposing him to fight first with a X Swordsman lightly arm'd, and then with another in

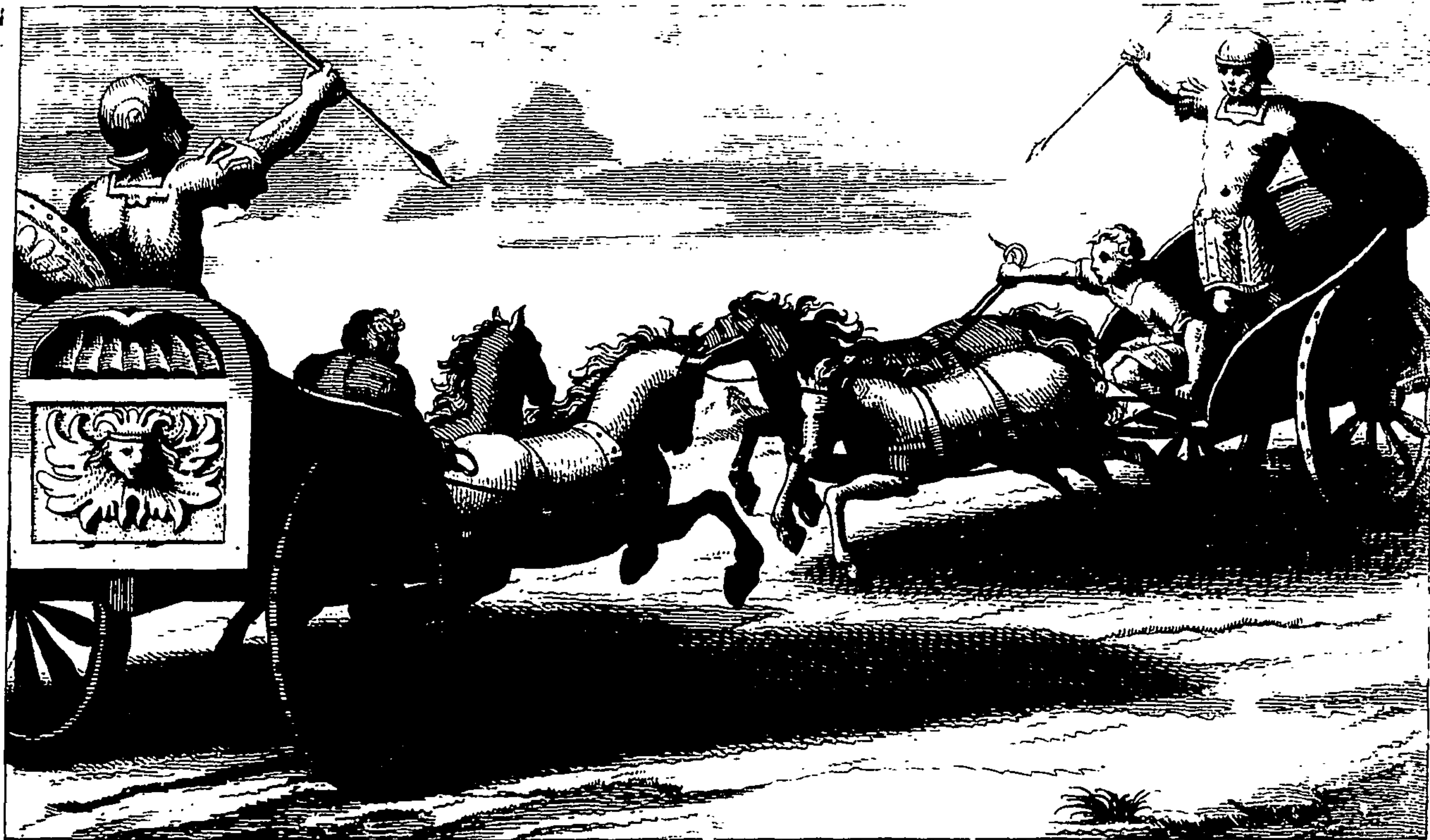
\* *Quintius Cincinnatus*. The Officers who were sent by the Senate to declare him Dictator, found him in his Grounds at Plough. The Name is deriv'd from *Cinnatus*, which signifies curling Hair, for which some of his Progenitors might have been remarkable.

————— *fulcoq; terens dentalia, Quinti, &c.*  
. Pers. Sat. l.

————— and *Quintius* there was born,  
 Whose shining Plough-Share was in Furrows worn,  
 Met by his trembling Wife, returning home,  
 And rustically joy'd, as Chief of Rome:  
 She wip'd the Sweat from the Dictator's Brow,  
 And o'er his Back his Robe did rudely throw;  
 The Lictors bore in State their Lord's triumphant Plough.  
} S  
Mr. Dryden.

† In Allusion to the famous Statue of *Apollo* at *Rhodes*, call'd the *Colossus*.

X *Threx*, a Gladiator who was a *Thracian* by Birth, or was arm'd after the *Thracian* Manner.





In compleat Armour, and having conquer'd both, he order'd him to be bound immediately, and cloath'd in Rags, and led thro' the Streets, and shewn to the Women, and lastly to be strangled. In a Word, there was no one of so abject a Condition and so low a Fortune, whose Advantages he did not envy. The \* *Rex Nemorensis* having enjoy'd the Priesthood several Years, he set up a sturdy Antagonist † to dispute it with him. One Day at the Shews, the People giving vast Applauses to *Porius*, one of the || *Essedarii*; because he manumitted a Slave for having fought with Success; he flung away in a Hurry, and treading on the Border of his Gown, tumbled from Step to Step, bawling out in a violent Fury, That the People, who were Lords of the World, gave more Honour to a Gladiator for a Trifle, than they did to consecrated Princes, or even to himself there present.

36. He spar'd neither his own Chastity nor that of others. 'Tis said, he lov'd *Marcus Lepidus Mnestor* the Pantomime, and several Hostages, and that they mutually defil'd each other. *Valerius Catullus*, a Youth of a Consular Family, was deflower'd by him, and abus'd to that Degree, that he roar'd out aloud. Beside his Incest with his Sisters, and his notorious Passion for *Pyralis* the Prostitute, he hardly abstain'd from

\* The Priest of Diana, who celebrated her Rites in a Grove (*Nemus*) near *Aricinum*, a Town in Italy. He had the Title of *Rex Nemorensis*, or King of the Grove.

† The *Rex Nemorensis* was chosen after the *Scythian* Manner. A Man who was a Fugitive, defended a Victim sword in Hand, while several who were Candidates for the Priesthood attempted to approach and kill it; he who succeeded, was chosen. The Barbarity of *Caligula* therefore consisted in his obliging the Priest, who was now in Years, to hazard his Life a second Time, against an Adversary who was much stronger than himself.

|| Gladiators who fought in a Chariot call'd *Essedum*; they sometimes quitted their Chariot and fought on Foot.

from any Woman of Quality ; frequently inviting them to Supper with their Husbands, and viewing them strictly and deliberately as they pass'd by his Couch like Goods for Sale, turning up their Faces with his Hand, if any out of Modesty hung down their Head : And when he thought fit, he withdrew with her who pleas'd him most, and returning presently with the Marks of Lasciviousness fresh upon him, openly prais'd or disparag'd the Adventure, relating her bodily Beauties or Defects, and her whole Behaviour in private. To some he sent a Divorce in the Name of their absent Husbands, and commanded it to be enter'd among the Records.

37. In his riotous Expences he exceeded the greatest Instances of Prodigality, inventing a new Way of Bathing, and the most extravagant Dishes and Entertainments. For he bath'd in hot and cold Unguents, and swallow'd precious Pearls dissolv'd in Vinegar, and serv'd his Guests with Loaves and Victuals of Gold ; saying, *A Man ought either to be a Niggard or Cæsar*. And for several Days together he scatter'd no inconsiderable Sums of Money among the People from the Turret of *Julia's* Palace. He also built \* *Liburnian* Gallies of Cedar, the Poops of which were adorn'd with Gems, and the Sails were of changeable Colours. They were built very wide for containing Baths, Portico's and Banqueting-Rooms, with Plantations of Vines and Apple-Trees, under which he lay along with Chorus's and Symphonies sounding round him, as he coasted the *Campanian* Shore. In erecting *Prætorias* and *Villa's*, he regarded no Profuseness of Cost, affecting to perform nothing so much as what was impossible to be done. Accordingly he rais'd Moles in a boisterous and deep Sea, cut thro' Rocks of the hardest Flint, and with huge Mounds made Fields equal to Mountains, and levell'd the Tops of Mountains to the Plain ; all which

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\* See the Note p. 70.

which was executed with incredible Celerity, Delays being punish'd with Death. And, not to mention Particulars, in less than a Year he consum'd immense Riches, and seven and \* twenty Hundred Millions of Sesterces which *Tiberius* had amass'd.

38. Being thus exhausted and impoverish'd, he turn'd his Thoughts to Rapine and Extortion, which he committed by various and subtle sorts of Calumny, Confiscation and Imposts. He allow'd only the † Sons of such whose Ancestors had procur'd the Freedom of the City for themselves and their Posterity, to enjoy that Privilege; declaring, the Word *Posterity* ought to be understood only of that Degree. If the X Diploma's of *Julius* and *Augustus* were produc'd and pleaded, He was extremely concern'd for it; he said, but they were really now grown obsolete and out of Date. Those who upon any Account had made Addition to their Fortunes, he - accus'd of giving in a false Valuation of their Estates at the general Census. The Testaments of such || *Principilares*, as from the Beginning of *Tiberius's* Reign had neither appointed *Tiberius* nor him for their Heir, he repeal'd as

\* 63500000 Crowns.

† The Design of this was to raise himself Money, by obliging the rest of the Family to purchase the Freedom again.

X Letters Patents. He declar'd them expir'd, that the Owners might advance him a Summ to renew them.

- That he might tax them higher, and set a Fine upon them.

|| The Head Centurion in a Legion was call'd *Primopilus*, and after he was discharg'd from Service *Principilaris*; as he who had been Consul, was styl'd *Consularis*. By the Roman Law, Soldiers had a particular Privilege of being able to make their Wills while their Fathers were living, which other Romans cou'd not, and to give the Estate they had got in the Wars to whom they pleas'd.

Solis



as guilty of Ingratitude; and set aside those of others also as invalid, if any one did but tell him the Person that dy'd design'd to have made *Cæsar* his Heir. The Fear of this driving several whom he never knew, to name him Coheir with their Friends, and several Parents with their Children, *It was making a Jest of him*, he said, *for them to live on after that*; and therefore to a great many he sent poyson'd Sweetmeats. He sat upon the Causes of this Nature himself, and came into Court determin'd to have such a Summ adjudg'd him, and never left the Bench till it was decreed. He was so impatient of the least Delay, that he condemn'd above forty Persons who were guilty of different Crimes, in one Sentence, and glory'd to *Cassonia* when she wak'd, *What a Multitude of Business he had dispatch'd, while she was taking her Afternoon's Nap*. He made an Auction, where he expos'd to Sale what remain'd of the \* Furniture of the Shews, and even the Performers; and put them up himself, and advanc'd them to such extravagant Rates, that several who were constrain'd to buy, and were ruin'd by the Purchase, cut open their Veins and bled to Death. It is a known Story, that as *Aponius Saturninus* was sleeping on the Benches at one of these Sales, *Caligula* call'd to the Auctioneer

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Solis præterea testandi militibus jus  
Vivo patre datur, &c.

Juv. Sat. 16.

*Another Branch of their Revenue still  
Remains, beyond their boundless Right to kill,  
Their Father yet alive, impower'd to make a Will.  
For what their Prowess gain'd, the Law declares  
Is to themselves alone, and to their Heirs.*

Mr. Dryden.

\* *Reliquiæ omnium Spectaculorum*, which signifies not only the Scenes, Habits, &c. which were left, but the Gladiators and Combatants also who surviv'd.

Auctioneer not to pass by the Pretorian Gentleman there in the Corner, who agreed to the Price by the frequent Nods of his Head ; nor did he suffer the Fellow to knock down, till he run it up to † nine Millions of Sesterces for thirteen Gladiators, while *Aponius* was fast all the time, and knew nothing of the Matter.

39. Also in *Gaul* having sold the Ornaments, Household-Furniture, and Slaves, and even the Children of his Sisters whom he had condemn'd, for immense Summs, the Profits he had made by them so tempted him, that he sent for all the Furniture of the old Palace from *Rome*, employing the Stage-Carriages and the Mill-Horses to remove it ; so that Bread was often wanted in the City, and many lost their Causes for Want of Conveyance thither, to appear in Court at the Day appointed. In disposing of the Goods, he exercis'd all manner of Fraud and Cunning ; sometimes upbraiding the Buyers with Avarice, and reproaching them that *they were not asham'd to be richer than himself*, and then pretending he was \* sorry he had let the Furniture of Princes come into private Hands. He understood that a wealthy Provincial Man had given || two Hundred Thousand Sesterces to the X Slaves who invited his Guests, that he might be admitted to his Table by Connivance. Nor did it displease him that this Privilege was valu'd at so high a Rate. And the next Day, as this Person was sitting at the Auction,

† 225000 Crowns.

\* Using all the little Arts of a common Auctioneer, to raise the Price of the Goods.

|| 5000 Crowns.

X A set of Slaves, whose Business it was to carry Invitations from the Emperor to the Persons he design'd to entertain at his Table. They had frequently Opportunities of sliding in any one they pleas'd among the Guests.

tion, he sent one to him to ~~+~~ present him with some Trifle which was valu'd at two Hundred Thousand Sesterces, and tell him, *He shou'd sup with Cæsar by Invitation from himself.*

40. He had new and unheard of Sorts of Taxes, which he manag'd at first by the Publicans; and because their Profits were too great, afterwards by the Centurions and Tribunes of the Pretorian Guard; no sort of Things or Persons being exempted from Tribute. Upon all Provisions sold in the City, there was a fix'd and certain Excise. And for all Law-Suits, where-ever they were decided, he demanded a Fortieth Part of the Summ in Dispute; and there was a Penalty for any who shou'd be convicted of agreeing or flinging up the Cause. Even out of the daily Gains of the Porters he had an Eighth Part, and the Hire for one Turn, out of the Profits of the Prostitutes. And a Clause was inserted in the \* Law, by which not only the Strumpets and Bawds were assess'd, but marry'd Persons also were to pay proportionably.

41. These Imposts being only X declar'd by the Crier, and no written Draughts of them fix'd up in Publick, and thereby a great many Defaults succeeding, at length to comply with the Importunity of the

*+ He was pleas'd the Gentleman had thought the Honour of being admitted to his Table, worth purchasing at so large a Summ; and therefore he makes him a Present, and sends him an Invitation from himself as a sort of Recompence. Yet his Avarice wou'd not suffer him to present the Man with any thing really of equal Value, but only with some Toy or other which he put up in his Auction at such a Price; for Suetonius's Words are, nescio quid frivoli ducentis millibus.*

\* The Law which impos'd all the Taxes mention'd above.

X Contrary to the Custom of publishing the Roman Laws: But this was design'd to occasion Offences, that he might levy the Penalties.



the People, he publish'd the Law in Writing; but the Letters were so small, and it was affix'd in such a narrow blind Corner, that hardly any cou'd read it and take a Copy. And to omit no Way of raising Money, he erected a Brothel in the Palace, with a Number of separate Apartments furnish'd answerably to the Dignity of the Place, in which honourable Persons of both Sexes might be accommodated. He sent Nomenclators round the Forums and Halls, to invite Young Men and Old to resort thither, and offer'd to lend them Money at a certain Interest, to pay the Toll of the Place; and those who embrac'd the Offer, had their Names enter'd down as Promoters of *Cæsar's* Revenues, by some who attended there for that Purpose. Nor did he slight the Advantage which was to be made by gaming with the Dye, at which by Lying and Perjury he won very largely. And delivering the Box once to the Fellow-Gamester who sat next him to throw for him, he walk'd out into the Court-Yard, and two *Roman* Knights who were very rich passing by, he commanded them immediately to be seiz'd, and their Estates confiscated, and came back to the Company with Triumph, boasting, *He never flung a more glorious Cast.*

42. When his Daughter was born, he made wonderful Complaints of his Poverty, and of the Difficulties he labour'd under, not only in the Administration of the Empire, but also to subsist his Family; and by this he obtain'd liberal Contributions for the Child's Maintenance and Dowry. He gave Notice that he wou'd receive the usual Presents at the Beginning of the New Year, and stood in the Porch of the Palace upon the Day to take them, while Crowds of all Sorts pour'd them in upon him by Arms-full and Laps-full. In a Word, he was inflam'd with such a boundless Passion for touching and handling Money, that he wou'd often walk bare-foot over immense Heaps of it spread abroad in a large  
large

large Room, and roll up and down upon it with his whole Body for a long Time.

43. He concern'd himself with War and Military Affairs only once ; and that was by Accident, when he went to *Mevania* to see the Grove and River of *Clitumnus*. For some advising him then to recruit the Number of the † *Batavians* who attended his Person, he took a Fancy to make his *German Expedition*. Immediately he assembled the Legions and Auxiliaries from all Parts, and raising Men every where with the utmost Severity, and providing all Manner of Stores beyond what was ever done before, he began his March ; and sometimes push'd it on so rapidly and with so much Hurry, that the *Pretorian Cohorts*, contrary to || Custom, were oblig'd to

\* *A River of Italy, whose Waters were famous for making the Cattel which were wash'd in them, white.*

Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, & maxima taurus, &c.  
Virg.

*There flows Clitumnus thro' the flow'ry Plain,  
Whose Waves, for Triumphs after prosp'rous War,  
The Victim Ox and snowy Sheep prepare.*

Mr. Dryden.

† Beside the *Pretorian Bands*, which consisted of Romans, the Emperors seem to have had a *Life-Guard* compos'd of Foreigners ; for Julius Cæsar, we find, had a Company of Spaniards, and Augustus of Spaniards and Germans. Pag. 54, 102.

|| *The Roman Soldiers us'd to carry their Baggage on their Backs, which with the Weight of their Arms, made their March fatiguing and slow.*

Non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis  
Injusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, & ante  
Hosti expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.

Virg.

*Thus under heavy Arms the Youth of Rome,  
Their long laborious Marches overcome,*

Chear-

to lay the Ensigns on the Carriage-Horses, that they might be able to follow him; at other times he proceeded so leasurely and at his Ease, that he was carry'd in a Litter borne by eight Men, and oblig'd the Common People of the neighbouring Cities to sweep the Ways for him, and to sprinkle them because of the Dust.

44. When he arriv'd at the Camp, to shew himself a strict and rigid General, he broke with Disgrace the Officers who came up late with the Auxiliaries from different Places. But in reviewing the Army, he dismiss'd several Centurions who had already serv'd the full Time, and some who wanted only a few Days of it, alleging their Age and Infirmities against them; and reproaching others with Covetousness, reduc'd their usual Premium to Six Thousand Sesterces. Yet the Issue of this whole Atchievement was only receiving into his Protection *Adminius*, the Son of *Cinobellinus* King of the Britons, who being driven out by his Father, fled to him with a small Band; upon which, as if the whole Island had been surrender'd, he sent \* magnificent Letters to Rome, charging the Messengers to drive  
O up

*Chearly their tedious Travels undergo,  
And pitch their sudden Camp before the Foe.*

Mr. Dryden.

\* The *Literæ Laureatæ*, which the General dispatch'd to the Senate to notify a Victory: They were call'd so, because they were wrapp'd round with Laurel. Persius mentions Caligula's sending the Senate this Advice in Form, of his pretended Victory.

O bone num ignoras? Missa est à Cæsare Lau-  
rus, &c. Sat. 6.

*Hear'st thou the News, my Friend? Th' Express is come  
With Laurel'd Letters from the Camp to Rome;*  
Cæsar



up in their Chariot to the Forum and the Senate-House, and not to deliver the Letters to the Consuls, but in the Temple of \* *Mars* and in a full Senate.

45. At last, when there was nothing of an Enemy to be seen, he order'd some of his *German* Guards to be carry'd over and conceal'd on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and Intelligence to be sent him after Dinner, in the utmost Confusion, that the Enemy was just at Hand. Immediately he sally'd out with his Friends and Part of the Pretorian Horse, and made his Way into the next Wood; and having cut down some Trees and dress'd them like Trophies, return'd by Torch-Light. He reprimanded the Cowardise and Sloth of those who had not follow'd him; but his Companions and Partners in the Victory, he presented with Crowns of a new Kind and Name, beautify'd with the Images of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which he call'd † *Coronæ Exploratoriæ*. Another  
Time

*Cæsar salutes the Queen and Senate thus,*  
 " My Arms are on the Rhine Victorious;  
 " From mourning Altars sweep the Dust away,  
 " Cease Fasting, and proclaim a fat Thanksgiving-Day.  
 The goodly Empress, jollily inclin'd,  
 Is so to the welcome Bearer wond'rous kind,  
 And, setting her good Housewifry aside,  
 Prepares for all the Pageantry of Pride.  
 The Captive Germans, of Gigantick Size,  
 Are rank'd in Order, and are clad in Frize;  
 The Spoils of Kings and conquer'd Camps we boast,  
 Their Arms in Trophies hang on the Triumphant Post.  
 Mr. Dryden.

By magnificentæ Literæ, perhaps, Suetonius may not only mean they were adorn'd with Laurels, but that they were written also in a lofty and vain-glorious Style.

\* Built by Augustus, (p. 81.) in which the Senate assembled to consult concerning Wars and Triumphs.

† Alluding to their having look'd out sharply, and first discover'd the pretended Foe.

Time he caus'd some Hostages to be sent out of the Camp by Stealth, and then starting up suddenly from Table, pursu'd them with a Body of Horse as if they had run away, and overtaking them, brought them back in Irons; playing his Part in this Farce also to Admiration. And some who brought him Word when he was return'd to Supper, that the † Troops were ready, he order'd to take their Places at Table, in compleat Armour as they were, and advis'd them in a known Verse out of *Virgil*, *Durarent, secundisq; se rebus seruant*: To take Heart under their Hardships, and reserve themselves for future Ease and Safety. And at the same Time he lash'd the Senate and People of Rome furiously in an Edict, because while Cæsar was fighting Battels, and was expos'd to such Dangers, they were not asham'd to indulge themselves in Banqueting, and the Diversions of the Theatre, and in the Softness of Country Villa's.

46. Lastly, as if he wou'd finish a whole War at a Blow, he drew up the Army on the Sea-Shore, and prepar'd the Slings and Engines; and while no Man cou'd imagine his Intention, on a sudden he commanded them to gather Shells, and fill their Helmets and Laps with them, calling them, \* *The Spoils of the Ocean, due to the Capitol and the Palace.*

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† To follow him if there was Occasion. But Caligula had nobly finish'd the Affair himself in a trice, and was now return'd to Table: Yet to encourage their Readiness to assist him, he made them take Part with him, and animates them very Heroically not to be intimidated at any Dangers, as *Æneas* does his Men in *Virgil*, after the Shipwreck.

\* The Dauphin's Editor applies this Expression to Caligula's having built a Bridge (Pons) over the Temple of Augustus from the Palace to the Capitol, p. 266. If we understand it so, there cannot be a more miserable Conceit. But I rather think, Caligula design'd by it a Complement

In Memory of his Victory he erected a very high Tower, from which, as from a Pharos, Lights might be seen to guide Ships in their Course by Night. And signifying he wou'd make a Donative to the Soldiers, he gave them a Hundred Denaries a Man; and, as if he had exceeded all former Examples of Liberality, Go, says he, *and enjoy your selves; go home now and be rich.*

47. Applying himself to provide for his \* Triumph, beside the Captives and Deserters of the Barbarians, he chose out the tallest and most portly Gauls, who were *ἀξιόθραμβοι*, as he term'd it, *Such as wou'd become a Triumph*; and even some of their Princes, and reserv'd them for the Shew, compelling them not only to dye their Hair yellow, and to let it grow, but also to learn the German Tongue, and to take Barbarous Names. He order'd the Vessels in which he had enter'd the Ocean, to be carry'd to Rome the greater Part of the Way by Land; and wrote to his Procurators, *To prepare a Triumph at as small an Expence as possible, but such an one as had never yet been seen; for the Possessions of all Men were at their Command.*

48. Before he left the Province, he form'd a Design inexpressibly atrocious; namely, to murder the Legions, which had formerly x mutiny'd upon Augustus's Death,

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to his own Godship which he had assum'd, and to Jupiter, whose Temple stood in the Capitol. It was a known Custom with the Romans to consecrate the Spoils to Jupiter Capitolinus; and Caligula had declar'd himself a God, and was by Jupiter's Invitation become a Partner with him in his Temple, to which he had made a Communication with his own Palace by a private Gallery: For the Word Pons, in that Place may be more properly translated Gallery, than Bridge.

\* See the Verses quoted from Persius, p. 289, 290.

x The Barbarity of this Design was the greater because those Legions did not mutiny against his Father, but for him; to make him accept the Empire.



Death, because they had besieg'd his Father *Germanicus*, their General, and himself, at that Time an Infant. And tho' he was with much Difficulty dissuaded from so hazardous a Project, yet he cou'd by no means be prevail'd on to abandon his Resolution to decimate them. Having summon'd them together therefore, without their Arms, or even their Swords, as if he wou'd make a Speech, he surrounded them with a Body of armed Horse : But perceiving the Thing was suspected, and they most of them slunk away to fetch their Weapons, in Case any Violence shou'd be offer'd, he fled from the Assembly, and hasten'd with all Speed to *Rome*, turning his Rage upon the Senate, threatening them openly, in order to make himself some Reparation for the disgraceful Reports that were spread about of him ; and complaining, among other Things, that he was defrauded of a just Triumph, whereas but a little before he himself had forbid any, under Pain of Death, to concern themselves with his Honours.

49. Being met upon the Road by Persons deputed from the Noblest Orders, who intreated him to make haste to them ; *I will come*, says he with a loud Voice, *I will come, and This shall come with me*, often laying his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and shaking it. He gave out also, that *he wou'd return, but it shou'd be only to those who wish'd for him, namely, the Equestrian Order, and the People ; for to the Senate he wou'd henceforth be neither a || Citizen, nor a Prince*. He also forbid any one of the Senators to meet him ; and omitting or deferring his Triumph, he enter'd the City upon his Birth-day in an Ovation ; and perish'd within four Months after, having dar'd to act Villanies surprisingly flagrant, and still projecting greater. For he design'd to have remov'd the Imperial Seat to *Antium*, and from thence to *Alexan-*  
O 3
*dria,*

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|| He wou'd shew them no manner of Favour, but wou'd treat them like Foreigners and Enemies.

*dria*, having first murder'd the most eminent Persons of either Order : To put which Matter past Question with any, two Table-Books were found among his private Papers ; of which one was entitled *Gladius, The Sword*, and the other *Pugio, The Dagger* : in both which were contain'd the Characters and Names of such as he intended to put to Death. There was also found a large Chest, full of all sorts of Poysons ; which being thrown into the Sea by *Claudius*, so infected the Waters, that the Fishes were destroy'd, and were cast dead upon the Shores by the Tide.

50. He was very tall, of a pale Complexion, and ill-shap'd ; his Neck and Legs were extremely slender ; his Eyes and Temples were hollow ; his forehead was broad and lowring ; his Hair thin, and upon his Crown none at all, but thick and bushy in his other Parts. Wherefore it was a mortal Crime to look down upon him from above as he pass'd by, or to name a \* Goat upon any Occasion. His Countenance, which was naturally grim and frightful, he render'd severe and stern on purpose, setting it by the Glass to look fierce and hideous. He enjoy'd Health neither of Body nor Mind. When he was a Boy, he was troubled with the Falling-Sickness ; in his Youth, he was very patient of Labour, yet sometimes he had such Fits of Fainting, that he cou'd scarcely walk, or stand, or recover his Spirits. He was sensible of the Misfortune of his Mind, and was often thinking to retire, and take something to purge his Brain. 'Tis believ'd his Wife *Cæsonia* gave him a † Love-Potion ; which, by a contrary Effect, threw him

\* Because the Hairs of a Goat are thick and shagged, and resembled Caligula's.

† The Tuft which is said to be on the Forehead of newborn Foles, and which the Mare greedily bites off immediately after the Birth. This was the celebrated Ingredient in Philters with the Ancients, who believ'd it had a surprising

him into a perfect Frenzy. What chiefly disorder'd him, was, want of Sleep; for he had not above three Hours Rest in a Night, and even that was unquiet, and disturb'd with strange Appearances: And once he thought something in the Shape of the Sea came to him and held him in Discourse. Wherefore he pass'd a great part of the Night in Pain, lying awake, and being quite weary of the Bed; and sometimes he sat up an end in it, and sometimes † he rose and rambled

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bled

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*sing Power to produce Affection. Juvenal exposing the Roman Women for giving their Husbands Poyson to cause or encrease their Love, mentions this of Cæsonia:*

Et furere incipias, ut Avunculus ille Neronis, &c.  
Sat. 6.

*Some nimbler Juice wou'd make him foam and rave,  
Like that Cæsonia to her Husband gave:  
Who, plucking from the Forehead of the Fole  
His Mother's Love, infus'd it in the Bowl:  
The boiling Blood ran hissing in his Veins,  
Till the mad Vapour mounted to his Brains.  
The Thund'rer was not half so much on fire,  
When Juno's Girdle kindled his Desire.  
What Woman will not use the Poy'sning Trade,  
When Cæsar's Wife the Precedent has made?*

Mr. Dryden.

*The Extravagancies which Caligula committed after this must not be too severely censur'd; as being the Actions of a Man who was no longer Master of his Senses.*

† *This Description of the Terrors and Anguish of Caligula's Mind is extreamly moving, and is a lively Image of the deepest Misery. His starting from Bed, and wandering up and down thro' the Portico's of the Palace, is like Virgil's Representation of Dido in her Dreams, after Æneas had resolv'd to leave her;*

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*semperq; relinqui  
Sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur*

Ire



bled thro' the longest Galleries of the Palace, often calling out passionately for the Light, and looking after the Day.

51. To this Distemper of his Mind may justly be imputed those very different Vices which were in him, as the highest Assurance and the meanest Fear. For he who cou'd so extravagantly despise the Gods, wou'd at the least Storm of Thunder and Lightning shut his Eyes, and wrap up his Head; but if it were violent, he us'd to jump out and hide himself under the Bed. In his Progress thro' *Sicily*, tho' he had laugh'd at the Natural Wonders of many Places, yet he ran away from *Messana* by Night in the last Confusion, being scar'd at the Smoke and Grumbling of Mount *Ætna*. As he was marching, in a prodigious Rage, against the *Barbarians*, and the Troops were crouded thick and close about his Chariot, in a narrow Pass on the other side of the *Rhine*, some body happening to say, *There wou'd be no small Consternation now, if the Enemy shou'd appear*; he took Horse immediately, and spurr'd back to the Bridge; and finding it stop'd up with the Slaves and the Baggage, he caus'd himself to be handed forward over the Heads of the Men. When he heard of the Rebellion of *Germany*, he prepar'd for Flight, providing a Fleet to carry him off, and supporting himself with this Consolation, That if the Enemy shou'd advance so far as to possess themselves of the Tops of the *Alps*, as the *Cimbri*, or even of the City it self, as the *Seutones* had formerly done, yet even then the Transmarine Provinces wou'd be left him.

It

*Ire viam, & Tyrios deserta quæfere terra.*

*She seems alone  
To wander in her Sleep thro' Ways unknown,  
Guidelss and dark; or in a Desert Plain,  
To seek her Subjects, and to seek in vain.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

It was this, I believe, which put it in the Head of those who flew him, to give out among the Soldiers, who were beginning to mutiny, that he had laid Hands on himself, being frighten'd out of his Wits at the News of the Loss of a Battel.

52. In his Cloaths, his Shoes, and the other Parts of his Habit, he observ'd neither the -|- Fashion of his Country, of a Citizen of Rome, nor even of his Sex, nor, in a Word, what was proper for a Humane Creature. For he often appear'd in Publick in an embroider'd \* Cloke, set with precious Stones; in a Gown with † Long Sleeves; and with Bracelets; and sometimes clad in †† Silk, and wearing a Cymar; now with || Slippers, or Buskins, and then with the clouted Shoes of the baser Soldiers; sometimes

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in

-|- Because he either wore a Habit, which tho' it was Roman, was proper only upon some extraordinary Solemnities, or was not becoming his Quality; or else he put on the Dress of Foreign Nations, or assum'd the Ensigns of the Gods. Instances of each immediately follow.

\* The Garment which Augustus so much condemn'd, (see p. 92) as not fit for a Roman; but Caligula made some Improvement to it, by enriching it with Gems.

† This was look'd upon as an effeminate Habit by the Romans, and before them by the Rutuli:

Vobis picta croco & fulgenti murice Vestis, &c.

Virg.

Your Vests embroider'd with rich Purple shine;

In Sloth you glory, and in Dances join.

Your Vests have sweeping Sleeves: With Female Pride,

Your Turbants underneath your Chins are ty'd.

Mr. Dryden.

†† The Habit of an Amazon; of which, as was observ'd before, Caligula was very fond

|| The Græcian Habit. See Page 179.

in \*\* Womens Socks, and frequently with a X Golden Beard, holding in his Hand a Thunder-bolt, or a † Trident, or a †† *Caduceus*, the Ensigns of the Gods; and sometimes he was seen in the Habit of a *Venus*. And even before his Expedition he generally wore the Triumphal Robes, and sometimes the Breast-Plate of *Alexander the Great*, which he took out of his Monument.

53. Of the Liberal Sciences he regarded ‡ Learning very little; but Eloquence he study'd very strictly, tho' he had a natural Elegance and Fluency of Expression; insomuch, that if he was to declaim against any one, in a Passion, he had Words always at command. He pronounc'd with so much Vehemence, that he cou'd not stand still in the same Place; and his Voice was so strong, that he was heard at a considerable Distance. As he was pleading once, he threatned, *Stricturum se Lucubrationis suæ Telum, To stabb him thro' and thro' with his Words*; for he had such a Contempt of a more gentle and mild Way of Writing, that *Seneca*, who was then in the highest Admiration, he said, was *an irregular Author with no Connection, and meer Sand without Lime*. He us'd also to answer such Orators as had succeeded with Applause, and to make the Accusations and Defence of remarkable Offenders before the Senate; and, according to the Temper he was in, to magnify or extenuate the Crime: publickly inviting the Equestrian Order to come and hear him.

54. Several other Arts also, of different Kinds, he cultivated with Application: He was a \* Fencer,  
a

\*\* To distinguish them from the Sock worne by the Comedians.

X Like the Image of Jupiter.

† The Ensign of Neptune.

†† The Rod of Mercury.

‡ History and Philology.

\* Threx; See the Note p. 280.





a Charioteer, a Singer and a Dancer. In his Exercising he practis'd with the same Arms as were us'd in real Combat, and drove the Chariot thro' the Circus, and hit all the Turnings. He was so transported with the Pleasure of Singing and Dancing, that at the Publick Shews he cou'd not forbear accompanying the Tragedian with his Voice, and openly imitating the Actor's Gestures, by way of Approbation or Correction. And the Day on which he was kill'd, he seems to have proclaim'd a † *Peruvigilium*, for no other Reason, than to have that Opportunity to make his first Appearance upon the Stage. He danc'd also sometimes by Night. And once, at the † Second Watch, he summon'd three Consular Men to the Palace, who repairing thither in a mortal X Allarm, he caus'd them to be plac'd in one of the Galleries, and on a sudden came in to them, leading up a Dance with a loud Sound of Pipes and †† *Scabellæ*, dress'd in a ‡ long Gown and a Tunic reaching to his Heels; and having danc'd out the Tune, he withdrew. Yet he, who was so expert at other Things, cou'd never learn to -| swim.

§ 5. Those Persons whom he affected, he lov'd even to Madness. Thus he kiss'd *Mucius*, the *Pantomime* in the Middle of the Shews: And if any one made the least Noise while he was dancing, he commanded him to be hal'd out, and scourg'd him with his own Hand. A Roman Knight once making some Disturbance, he sent him Orders by a Centurion to embark

† Revels which continu'd all Night.

\* Midnight.

X Because he sent for them at so unusual an Hour.

†† Instruments, us'd by the Antients in their Dancing, to make a Sound. Some explain them to answer our Castanets, and others to be a sort of Shoe according to the Form in the Plate.

‡ The Habit of a Woman.

-| See the Note p. 112.

embark immediately, and carry Instructions for him to King *Ptolomy* in *Mauritania*: The Instructions were, \* *Do neither good nor ill to the Person whom I have sent.* He gave the Command of the German Guards of his Body, to certain || *Threces*, and depriv'd the *Mirmillones* of part of their Arms. *Columbus*, who was a *Mirmillo*, gaining the Victory in a Combat, but receiving withal a slight Hurt, he pour'd a Poyson into the Wound; which from thence he call'd the *Columbine* Poyson: For it was found among his other Poysons thus entitled. He was so devoted to the Charioteers of the Green Faction, that he wou'd sup and lie all Night with them in the Stable. At a Reveling Bout, he gave † Twenty hundred thousand *Sesterces* for a Desert to *Cythicus* the Driver; and to his Horse, \*\* *Incitatus*, for whose sake, the Day before the *Circensian* Games, he us'd to make the Soldiers proclaim Silence thro' the Neighbourhood, that the Beast might not have his Rest disturb'd, besides a Marble Stable, a Manger of Ivory, Purple Trappings, and a Collar of Gems; he appointed also a House, a Train of Servants, and proper Furniture, for the handsome Reception of such as were invited thither in the Horse's Name; and 'tis said, he design'd to make him Consul.

56. As he was thus raving and increasing his Enormities, there were several who had resolv'd to dispatch him: But after some Conspiracies were discover'd, and while others were suspended for Want of an Opportunity to effect them, two Persons communicated their Design to each other, and brought it to Perfection, not without the Knowledge of the bravest of his Freedmen, and of the Captains of the Pretorian.

\* He only design'd to revenge himself on him by making him travel so far upon no Occasions.

|| Fencers. See the Note p. 280.

† 50000 Crowns.

\*\* Swift, or, Fleet.



torian Guard ; because tho' they had been nam'd as Accomplices in a certain Conspiracy unjustly and without any Ground, yet they saw they were suspected and hated by him. For it was a very strong Reflection which he cast upon them, when taking them aside once, and drawing his Sword, he protested *he was willing to die, if they thought he deserv'd it.* Nor did he forbear from that Time mutually to accuse and incense them against one another. *Cassius Chærea*, a Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, insisted that he might be the first to attack him as he came from the *Palatine Games* at Noon. He was in Years, and *Caius* was always exposing him for a soft and effeminate Dotard, and putting Marks of Infamy upon him ; and sometimes when he came to him for the Word, he wou'd give him either *Priapus* or *Venus* ; and at other Times when he made his Acknowledgments to him upon some Occasions, he held him out his Hand to kiss, in an obscene Figure, and with indecent Gesticulations,

57. There were several Prodigies which fore-shew'd his Murder. At *Olympia* the Image of *Jupiter*, which he had commanded to be taken down and sent to *Rome*, burst on a sudden into so impetuous a \* Laugh, that the Scaffolding about it was loosen'd, and the Workmen ran away in a Fright. At the same Time one *Cassius* by Name, declar'd he was injoin'd in a Dream to sacrifice a Bull to *Jupiter*. The Capitol at *Capua* was struck with Lightning on the † Ides of *March*, and the Chamber of a Servant belonging to the Palace-Yard at *Rome*. Nor were some wanting, who constru'd the last Omen to portend  
Danger

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\* This Omen was certainly understood to mean, that the God rejoyc'd he shou'd be shortly eas'd of so imperious a Partner in his Temple and Honours : And the Sacrifice mention'd immediately after, and the Firing the Capitol at *Capua*, must relate to the same ; and signify, that by *Caligula's Death*, *Jupiter* shou'd have his wonted Rights and Dignities to himself again. † March 15th.

Danger to the Lord of the Dwelling from his own Guards; and the first, to signify there shou'd be another remarkable Murder, such as had formerly been committed on the same X Day. Sylla the Astrologer also, as he was consulting him about his Nativity, affirm'd *his Death was unavoidable, and near at hand*. And the Oracle at *Antium* admonish'd him to beware of *Cassius*. For which Reason he intended to put *Cassius Longinus* the Proconsul of *Asia*, to Death, not remembering *Charca's* Name was also *Cassius*. The Day before the Murder, he dream'd he stood in Heaven beside the Throne of *Jupiter*, who spurn'd him with the great Toe of his right Foot, and tumbled him down to the Earth. The Circumstances which happen'd on the very Day were also esteem'd as Prodigies. The Blood of a Phœnicopter spirted upon him, as he was † sacrificing. And *Mneſter* the Pantomime danc'd the Tragedy, which *Neoptolemus* the Tragedian had formerly play'd at the Games where *Philip* King of *Macedon* was kill'd. And in the Play of *Laureolus*, the \* principal Actor in one of the Scenes, to escape a Danger, vomited Blood; and several who perform'd the secondary Parts, endeavouring to shew the same Piece of Art, the whole Stage swam with Blood. An Interlude was also prepar'd for the Night, in which the History of the || Infernal Regions was to be represented by *Ægyptians* and *Æthiopians*. 58. The

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X This was the Day of *Julius Cæsar's* Murder.

† Phœnicopters being some of the Victims he provided for his own Divinity, (p. 265.) 'tis likely he was now doing this Office in Honour of himself

\* This Actor was plainly a *Mimus*, who perform'd the Story by Gestures without Words: For the others, who are said to execute the secondary Parts, were some of the same Kind, who according to the Custom of the Antients, imitated the chief *Mimus*, and repeated what they saw him perform.

|| This Omen was very full. The Scene of the Story was the Infernal Regions, to which *Caligula* was to descend by Death; and it was play'd by Blacks.

58. The X ninth of the Kalends of *February*, about the -|- seventh Hour, as he was considering whether he shou'd rise to Dinner, his Stomach being yet out of Order with the Debauch of the preceeding Day, at length, by the \* Persuasion of his Friends, he went forth. In the private Hall thro' which he was to pass, a Company of Noble Boys who were collected out of *Asia* to perform on the Theatre, being busie in preparing for their Parts, he stopt to take a View of them and encourage them; and unless the chief Lad among them had complain'd of the Cold, he wou'd have gone back directly, and caus'd the Shew to begin. And here the Story is related two Ways. Some say, as he was talking to the Boys, *Chærea* from behind gave him a deep Wound in the Neck with a Sword, saying, *Hoc age, Mind this*; and that *Cornelius Sabinus* the Tribune, another of the Conspirators, ran him thro' the Breast before: Others, that some Centurions who were privy to the Design, having remov'd the Crowd from him, *Sabinus* came to him for the Word, and *Caius* giving him *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cry'd out *Accipe ratum, Agreed*; and as he look'd back, smote off his Jaw at a Blow. The rest finish'd him with thirty Wounds, lying on the Ground, and gathering up his Limbs, and faintly crying, *he was alive*. For the common Word with all of them was, *Repete, Strike again*. And some thrust their Weapons thro' his secret Parts. At the first Bustle, his Litter-Men ran in to his Aid with their Poles; and then his *German* Guards, who slew several of the Murderers, and some Senators that were innocent.

59. He

X January 24th.

-|- One a Clock at Noon.

\* They were privy to the Design, and urg'd him to go out, lest their Conspiracy shou'd otherwise be defeated. Thus *Decimus Brutus* persuaded *Julius Cæsar* to go to the Senate, contrary to his Inclination, on the Day of his Murder.



59. He liv'd nine and twenty Years, and reign'd three Years, ten Months and eight Days. His Carcass was privately convey'd into the \* *Lamian* Gardens, and being † half burnt on a Pile thrown up in a Hurry, was lightly cover'd over with Turf. His Sisters returning from Exile, had it afterwards taken up and burnt fully, and bury'd. Before this was done, 'tis certain, the Keepers of the Garden were continually disturb'd with Spectres; and it was impossible to pass the Night in the House where he was murder'd, without Affright; and therefore it was set on fire, and reduc'd to Ashes. His Wife *Cassia* perish'd with him, being stabb'd by a Centurion; and his (†) Daughter was dash'd to Pieces against a Wall.

60. It will be easy for any Man to understand the Condition of those Times, even by these Circumstances. For neither was the Murder presently believ'd when it was divulg'd, the People suspecting it to be a Feint of his own, to discover how their Minds were affected towards him; nor did the Conspirators appoint another Emperor. And the Senate were so unanimous for asserting their Liberty, that the Consuls did not summon them to meet in the usual Court, because it was call'd the *Julian*, but in the Capitol. And some voted to have the Name of the *Cæsars* abolish'd, and their Temples destroy'd. It deserves also to be noted in particular, that all the *Cæsars* who bore the Prænomen of *Caius*, even from ‖ him who was slain in the Time of *Cinna*, perish'd by the †† Dagger.

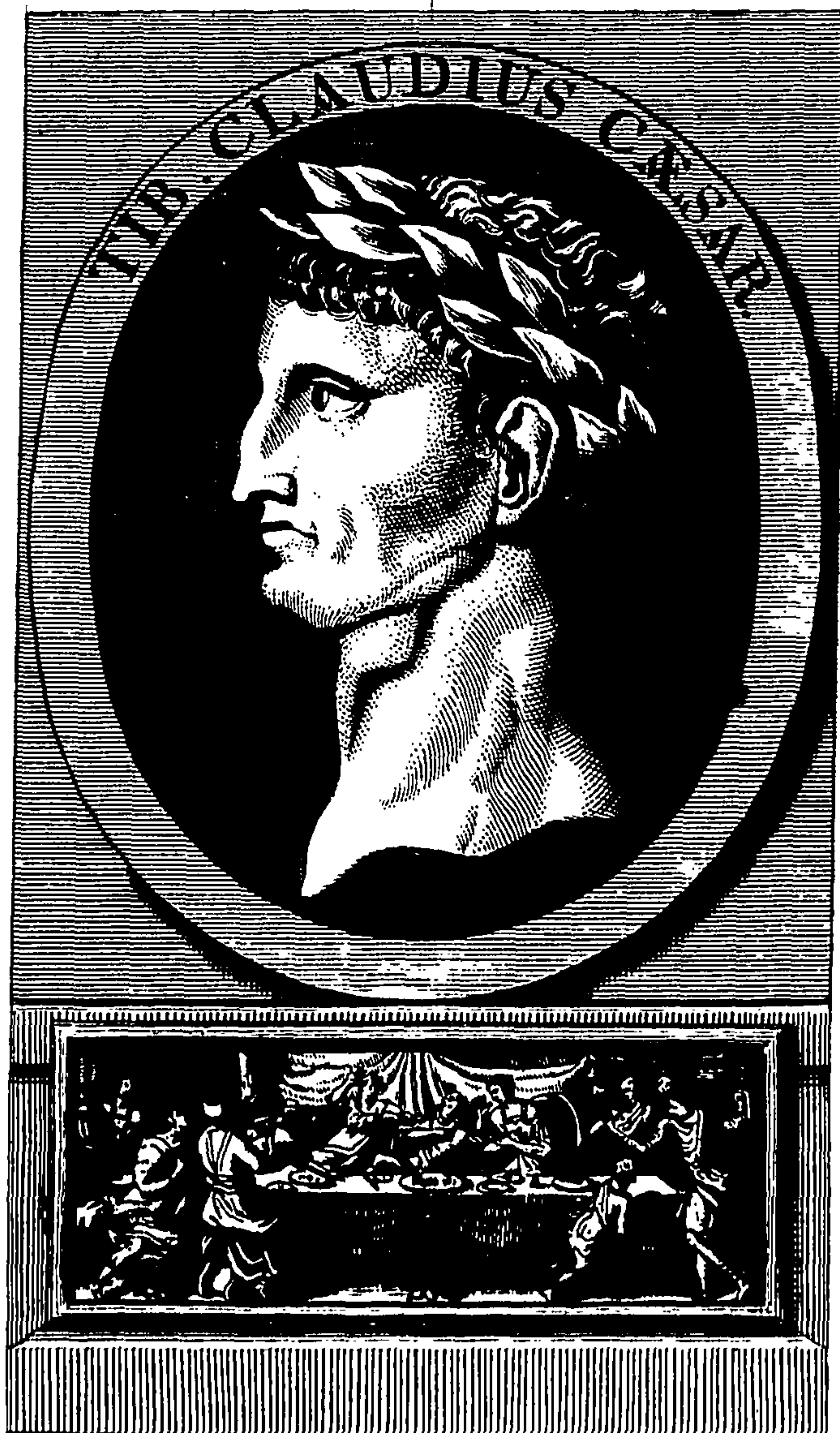
\* *A celebrated Family of that Name.*

† *By way of Disgrace and Revenge.*

(†) *See p. 287.*

‖ *Cicero commends him as an admirable Orator. He was destroy'd in the Proscription made by Marius and Cinna.*

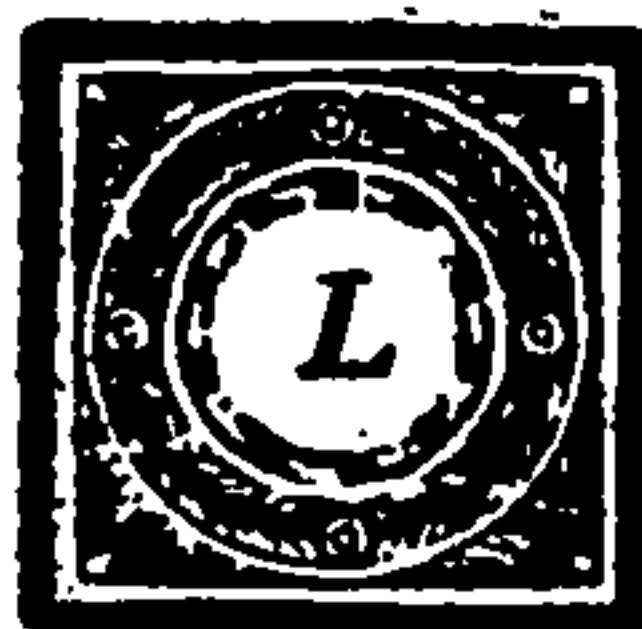
†† *This does not appear by History.*





T H E  
L I F E  
O F

*Tib. Claudius Drusus Cæsar.*



*LIVIA* being \* marry'd to *Augustus* when she was great with Child, was within three Months deliver'd of *Drusus*, the Father of *Claudius Cæsar*; whose Præ-nomen at first was *Decimus*, and afterwards *Nero*. He was suspected to be begotten in Adultery by his Father-in-Law; and this Verse was immediately spread about:

·Τοῖς εὐτυχῆσι καὶ τείκεται παῖς.

At three Months end the Great can have a Boy.

This *Drusus*, while he enjoy'd the Honour of the Questorship and of the Preture, Commanded in the *Rhetian* and *German Wars*, and was the first *Roman General* who pass'd the Northern Ocean, and with prodigious Labour made a new Sort of Entrenchments beyond the *Rhine*, which are to this Day call'd *The Drusine*. Nor did he give over following the Enemy, whom  
he

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\* See Page 111.



he had frequently defeated and had driven into the Desarts, till the Form of a Barbarian Woman larger than the Life, appearing to him, commanded him to push his Victories no further. For these Exploits he receiv'd an Ovation and the Triumphal Ornaments. And entering on the Consulate immediately after the Pretorship, as he was preparing for a second Expedition, he dy'd of a Disease in the \* Summer Quarters, which from thence were call'd *Scelerata*, *The accurs'd*. His Body was brought to Rome by the † Heads of the Municipal Towns and the Colonies, being receiv'd in the Way by the Colleges of the †† Scribes, and was bury'd in the Field of *Mars*. The Army also erected him an \* honorary Tomb, about which on a certain Day the Soldiers || march'd in

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\* Into which the Soldiers were put, because of the extreme Heat in those Parts.

† See the Note p. 267.

†† Persons who enter'd and copy'd the Publick Accounts and Records. They were very numerous at Rome, and were form'd into a Society or College.

\* An empty Tomb inscrib'd to the Dead, when the Body cou'd not be found, or was bury'd in another Place. In the last Case, it was erected to satisfy his Ghost, and procure it a Passage into Elysium, into which none cou'd be admitted who wanted a Sepulchre. This of Drusus was of the first Kind.

|| According to the antient Rites of honouring Warriours Dead. It was first perform'd round the Funeral Pile as it was burning, and this was the annual Celebration of it.

Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis, &c.  
Virg.

Then thrice around the kindled Piles they go,  
(For antient Custom had ordain'd it so)  
Thrice Horse and Foot about the Fires are led,  
And thrice with loud Laments they hail the Dead.  
Tears trickling down their Breasts bedew the Ground,  
And Drums and Trumpets mix their mournful Sound.  
Mr. Dryden.

in Form, and the *Gallie* Cities made publick Supplications. Moreover the Senate, among several other Things, decreed him a Marble Arch adorn'd with Trophies in the *Appian* Way, and gave the Sirname of *Germanicus* to him and his Posterity. 'Tis thought, he was form'd no less for Military Glory and Fame, than for the Offices of Civil Life. For beside his Victories, he also won the *Spolia Opima* from the Enemy, and often with the utmost Hazard singled out the *German* Generals in the Heat of the Battle, and engag'd them Hand to Hand. Nor did he dissemble his Resolution to \* restore the antient State of the Republick, if it were ever in his Power. 'Tis for this Reason, I believe, some have adventur'd to report *Augustus* was jealous of him, and recall'd him from his Province; and because he linger'd there and delay'd to return, took him off by Poyson. I have related this rather because I wou'd not be guilty of an Omission, than because I think it either true or likely; since *Augustus* lov'd him so extremely while he was living, that he always appointed him Coheir with his Sons, and declar'd it once in the Senate; and when he was dead, he extoll'd him so in an Oration, that he pray'd the Gods *they wou'd make his † Cæsars like him, and grant himself as honourable an End as they had now granted to Drusus.* Nor was he content with inscribing on his Monument a Copy of Verses in his Commendation written by himself, but he also compos'd a History of his Life in Prose. He had several Children by *Antonia* the younger; yet he left only three, *Germanicus*, *Li villa* and *Claudius*.

2. *Claudius* was born in the Consulship of *Julius Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus*, on the Kalends of *August*,

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\* See Page 214.

† Cæsar was the Style of the Emperor's Sons, by Blood or by Adoption. These were the Sons of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, and were adopted by *Augustus*.

gust, at Lyons, on the very Day the Altar was first dedicated there to *Augustus*, and was call'd *Tiberius Claudius Drusus*. His elder Brother being afterwards adopted into the *Julian* Family, he \* assum'd the Surname of *Germanicus*. He lost his Father in his Infancy, and almost thro' the whole Time of his Childhood and Youth, was afflicted with various and dangerous Distempers; insomuch that both his Mind and Body being render'd heavy and weak, he was even at an advanc'd Age thought incapable of any publick or private Employment. A long Time after he came to Majority, he was under Governors, and had a Pedagogue over him, *Who*, he complain'd, was a Barbarian, and formerly a Mule-Driver, and was plac'd with him on purpose to keep him in the severest Restraint. On account also of this Infirmary, he took his Seat at the Gladiatory Games which he and his Brother gave in Memory of his Father, dress'd after a † new Manner, with a Cap wrapp'd round his Head. And the Day of his putting on the Gown of Manhood, he was carry'd to the †† Capitol about Midnight in a Litter without any Solemnity.

3. Yet he employ'd no small Labour in the Liberal Sciences from the first, and often publish'd Essays in each Kind of Literature; but he was not able  
by

\* His Brother being transfer'd into another Family by Adoption, he succeeded him in his Rights and Style.

† It was the Roman Custom to go without a Covering on the Head; but this was dispens'd with in *Claudius* because of his Infirmary.

†† On this Day, young Gentlemen with the Romans were introduc'd into the Forum, or call'd to the Bar; instead of which, *Claudius* is carry'd privately by Night to the Capitol. This Passage therefore may perhaps be thus understood: That his Defects rendering him incapable of Pleading, or behaving himself properly in a Publick Ceremony, they convey'd him to the Capitol without Observation, and there committed him to Jupiter's Protection and Favour.



by all this to make his Way to any Promotion, or persuade the World to hope better of him for the future. His Mother *Antonia* said, *he was a Prodigy of a Man*, and that *Nature had begun him, but never finish'd her Work*. And when she tax'd any one with Stupidity, *He's a greater Fool*, says she, *than my Son Claudius*. His Grandmother *Augusta* always despis'd him in the last Degree, and very seldom spoke to him; and if she gave him Advice, it was either in a short \* Note severely drawn, or by Messengers. And his Sister *Livilla*, hearing he wou'd one Day come to be Emperor, openly lamented the wretched and forlorn Condition of the *Roman* People. And to shew the more clearly what was the Opinion of his Great Uncle *Augustus* concerning him in both Respects, I have here selected some of the most remarkable Passages in his Letters.

4. *I have discours'd as you desir'd me, Livia, with Tiberius, what to do with your Grandson Claudius at the Games of Mars. We are both agreed it will be necessary to conclude at once what Method we shou'd pursue in this Affair. For if he is ἀρετός, as I may say, and ὁλόκληρος, sound and perfect, there can be no Question but he may be advanc'd by the same Gradation as his Brother formerly was. But if we find him ἡλαττώδους, καὶ βεβλάσθαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ τὸ σωματικόν, καὶ εἰς τὸ τὸ ψυχικόν ἀρπύματα, wanting in the Perfections both of Body and Mind; by promoting him we shou'd only expose our selves and him to the Derision of the World, who are skilful enough to turn such Things into Ridicule and Satire. And if we do not form a Resolution before hand, whether he is capable of Honours or not, we shall always be full of Uncertainty, when we are to consider of each particular Rise. At present, we have no Objection to what you propose concerning his taking the † Charge of the Table of the Priests*  
at

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\* Because she disdain'd to speak to him.

† To be Governor of the Feast, and manage the whole Entertainment.

at the Games of Mars, provided he will suffer himself to be advis'd and govern'd by Silanus's Son, who is his near Relation, that he may do nothing to draw the Eyes of the People and expose himself. We cannot approve that he shou'd behold the Circensian Games from the \* Pulvinar, because he will then be plac'd in the most conspicuous Part of the whole Assembly. We think it not fit also that he shou'd go to Mount Albanus, or be at Rome on the Days of the † Latin Festivals. For if he is in a Condition to accompany his Brother to the Albane Mount, why may he not be made †† Prefect of the City? We have here given you our Opinions, Livia; for we judge it best to determine about this Matter at once, lest otherwise we shou'd be always fluctuating between Hope and Fear, If you will, you may shew Antonia this Part of the Letter, and let her read it. Again, in another: During your Absence, I design to invite young Tiberius to my Table, lest he shou'd sup alone, with his Companions Sulpitius and Athenodorus. I heartily wish the poor Creature wou'd be more careful and fix'd in his Actions, and chuse out some one to himself to imitate in his Motion, Dress and Gate.

'ΑΥΧΕΙ

\* An Apartment reserv'd for the Image of the Gods; the Emperors us'd often to sit in it at the Games. See p. 99. It was in the fullest Point of View to the whole Assembly; for which Reason Augustus did not care Claudius shou'd appear in it.

† These were instituted by Tarquin the Proud, the last King of Rome, upon his uniting the Romans and the Latins in one common League. They were celebrated by both Nations, in the Temple of Jupiter Latialis, which Tarquin built on Mount Albanus.

†† The Consuls being oblig'd to accompany the Festivals, an Officer, call'd the Prefect of the City, was chosen to take Care of it in their Absence. Augustus not thinking Claudius capable of this Post, chose not to have him at Rome at that Time, because it wou'd expose him to have another prefer'd to it, while he was on the Spot.

Ἀτυχεῖ πάλιν ἐν τοῖσι συνεδείοις λίσαν.

*For when he is in Company with Learned Men, he behaves himself very unhappily ; but when he has preserv'd himself from Absurdities, he certainly discovers a sensible and well-born Mind. And in a third Letter: May I dye, Livia, if I am not surpris'd that our Grandson Tiberius shou'd please me so well in his Declamations. For it is one of the strangest Things imaginable, that he who in common Discourse talks so impertinently, shou'd speak so justly in an Oration. I am at a Loss what to say. After this, it is no longer a Doubt, why Augustus imparted no Honours to him beside the \* Augural Priesthood, and even nam'd him his Heir only among those of the third Class, and almost among the † Strangers, and only for a sixth Part, leaving him a Legacy of not above eight Hundred × Sesterces.*

5. Upon his moving to have some Dignities conferr'd on him, his Uncle *Tiberius* gave him the Consular Ornaments ; but when he warmly insisted for | legitimate Honours, all the Answer he wrote back to him was, That *he had sent him forty Pieces of Gold for \*\* Sigils and other Presents at the Saturnalia. At this, abandoning all Hope of Promotion, he resign'd himself to his Ease, sometimes hiding himself in his Gardens and suburban House, and sometimes in the Recesses of Campania, in the Company of Fellows of*  
a most

\* *The Priesthood of the Augurs.*

† *By naming him among these, Augustus seem'd to disown him for his Relation : For the Romans call'd such Heirs Strangers, as were neither Slaves, nor Children of the Testator ; that is, who neither belong'd to him by Property nor Blood.*

× *The greater Sesterce ; 20000 Crowns.*

|| *Such as were not merely titular, but real.*

\*\* *Little Images of the Gods, which they us'd to make Presents of at the Saturnalia.*



a most profligate Character; by which, beside the former Reproach of Listlessness and Dulness, he incurr'd the Scandal of Drunkenness and Gaming.

6. Yet while he liv'd after this Manner, People were not wanting in paying Complements to him, and shewing him publick Respect. The Equestrian Order elected him twice to bear a Message in their Name: Once when they desir'd the Consuls Permission to bear the Body of *Augustus* to Rome upon their Shoulders; and another time, when they congratulated them upon *Sejanus's* Ruine. They us'd also to rise up to him when he came in at the Shews, and threw off their \* Clokes. The Senate mov'd, that he might be added extraordinarily to the Number of the † *Augustal* Society, which were chosen by Lot; and that his House, which was destroy'd by Fire, might be rebuilt at the publick Cost; and that he shou'd have a Power to pass Judgment among the Consular Men. But this Decree was abolish'd, *Tiberius* excusing him because of his Infirmities, and engaging to make up the Loss to him by his own Liberality: And at his Death, he nam'd him among the Heirs of the third Class, for a third Part, and appointed him also a Legacy of about two †† Millions of Sesterces; recommending him by Name, among his other Friends, to the Armies, the Senate, and the People of Rome.

7. At length, under the Reign of his Brother's Son *Caius*, who endeavour'd by all Insinuations and Address to render himself acceptable at the Beginning, he made his || Entrance on Publick Honours, holding

\* *Augustus* endeavour'd to put down the Use of this Garment (See p. 93.) But it prevail'd afterwards very much, and was more worn than the Gown.

† An Order of Priests belonging to the Julian Family, or to the Altars and Temples of *Augustus* in particular.

†† 50000 Crowns.

|| See Page 219.

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 313

holding the Consulate with him for two Months; and it happen'd that the first time he came into the *Forum* with the *Fasces*, an \* Eagle flew round about him, and settled upon his right Shoulder. Four Years after, he also drew Lots for another Consulate; and sometimes presided at the Shews, the People shouting and crying out, partly, *Heavens bless the Emperor's Uncle*, and partly, *Heavens bless the Brother of Germanicus*.

8. Yet was he not hereby secur'd from Affronts and Scorn. For if he came in somewhat later than the appointed Hour at Supper, the Company † took no Notice of him, but put him to the Trouble of hunting up and down to find a Place at the Table; and when he fell asleep after Eating, which he generally did, they pelted him with Olive-Stones and Dates; and some who had a mind to create Diversion, wak'd him with a smart Blow of a Ferula or a Scourge. They us'd also to slip on Socks upon his Hands as he lay snoring, that waking on a sudden he might scratch his Face with them when he went to rub his Eyes.

9. He was also several times in imminent Danger. Once in his very Consulate, because he had not erected the Statues of the Emperor's †† Brothers, *Nero* and *Drusus*, with due Expedition, he had like to have been remov'd from his Office; after which, a certain Stranger among his Domesticks gave him a great deal of Trouble by his Accusations. And when the

P

\* Con-

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\* The Eagle was the Roman Ensign, and an Emblem of Royalty; and his perching on Claudius's right Shoulder, was to signify he shou'd be advanc'd to the Empire: For happy Omens, with the Romans, came from the Right.

† These Indignities were undoubtedly offer'd him by *Caligula's* Order, as may appear by the Story in the following Paragraph; for none wou'd have presum'd without it, to have treated the Emperor's Uncle so grossly.

†† Murder'd by *Tiberius*, p. 219.

\* Conspiracy of *Lepidus* and *Gætulicus* was discover'd, being sent into *Germany* with some others to congratulate the Emperor on his Deliverance, he narrowly escap'd with his Life: For *Caligula* was in a prodigious Rage that they singled out his † Uncle to send to him, as if he were a Boy who wanted a Governor; and some have said, he caus'd him to be thrown into the River in his Cloaths just as he came. From this Time he always voted the last of the Consular Men in the Senate, his \* Voice being taken after all the rest on purpose to disgrace him. A Testament also to which he had sign'd, was brought into Court and †† arraign'd as false. Lastly, being oblig'd to advance || eight Millions of Sesterces for his Entrance on the new Priesthood, he was in such extreme Penury, that not being able to answer the Bond he had given for the Summ, his whole Effects were by a Decree of the X Prefects put up to Sale.

1c. Having

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\* See Page 269.

† Uncles had a great Power over their Nephews, and us'd to treat them with Severity, even to a Proverb. *Persius* alludes to it in his first Satire.

*Cum sapimus Patruos, &c.*

*When stern as Tutors, and as Uncles hard,  
We grind the Pupil and defraud the Ward.*

Mr. Dryden.

*Caligula* was in no Danger of coming into this Subjection; but he hates *Claudius*, and his Pride and Passion made him put this Sense upon his Coming.

\* See Page 12.

†† To cast a Reflection on *Claudius*, as an Accomplice in the Forgery.

|| 240000 Crowns.

X Of *Caligula's* Revenues.



10. Having pass'd the greater Part of his Life after this Manner, in the Fiftieth Year of his Age he arriv'd at the Empire, by an Accident very surpris- ing. The Conspirators against *Caius* having turn'd him out among others when they clear'd the Lodg- ings, as if the Emperor desir'd to be private, he with- drew to the Apartment call'd the *Hermæan* ; and be- ing quickly after frighten'd with the Report of the Murder, he stole up into an upper Room, and hid himself among Tapestry: A common Soldier run- ning by while he lay there, and perceiving his Feet, resolv'd to see who it was; and knowing him, drew him out, and as he cast himself at his Knees out of Fear, saluted him *EMPEROR*. He carry'd him to his Fellows, who were of a thousand Minds, and in a violent Fury: They put him into a Litter, and, because his Slaves were dispers'd, took it by turns upon their Shoulders, and convey'd him to the Camp full of Dejection and Concern, and the People pity- ing him in passing, as some innocent Person hurry'd away to Execution. Being admitted within the Trenches, he sat up all Night among the Guards, with little \* Hope and less Assurance. For the Con- suls, with the Senate and the City-Cohorts, had seiz'd the *Forum* and the † *Capitol*, and were determin'd to assert the common Liberty; and being himself sum- mon'd by a Tribune of the People to join with them in advising for the Publick Good, he answer'd, *He cou'd not possibly come, for he was detain'd by Force.* But the next Day the Senate being less vigorous in pur- suing those Resolutions, because of the Dissentions among themselves which cou'd not be reconcil'd, and the Multitude which surrounded them crying out for a single Governor, and demanding *Claudius*

P 2 by

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\* Of his being protected, and of his obtaining the Empire.

† See Page 304.

by Name, he assembled the Troops, and \* suffer'd them to take the Oath to him, promising them † fifteen Thousand Sesterces a Man; and was the first of the *Cæsars* who purchas'd the Fidelity of the Soldiers with Money.

11. Being confirm'd in the Empire, he immediately caus'd the Memory of the two Days which were spent in consulting upon changing the Form of the Government, to be †† abolish'd, and publish'd an Act of Pardon and Oblivion for ever of all that had been done and said in that Time; only some few of the Tribunes and Centurions among the Assassines of *Caius* were put to Death for an Example, and because he understood they were also conspiring against himself. After this, he apply'd himself to Offices of X Piety and Religion. He appointed an Oath which he held the most sacred, and generally us'd, B R *AUGUSTUS*. He decreed Divine Honours to his Grand-Mother *Livia*, and a Chariot in the *Circensian* Games drawn by Elephants, like what had been ordain'd for *Augustus*. He instituted Publick Sacrifices to the *Manes* of his Parents: And further yet, For his Father he founded annual *Circensian* Games; for his Mother he provided one of the Chariots call'd *Carpentum*, to be driven round the *Circus*, and settled on her the Cognomen of *Augusta*, which his Grand-Mother had refus'd. In Honour of his Brother's Memory,

\* He was afraid to do it before, lest if the Senate persisted in their Design, he shou'd suffer for assuming the Empire.

†† He prohibited them to be mention'd in the Kalendar, lest such a Precedent being upon Record, shou'd remind and incourage them at any Opportunity to execute that Design.

X *Pietas* signifies filial Duty and Reverence to one's Relations, of which *Claudius* gave several Instances, which follow. The Word Religion relates to his appointing the Oath.

Memory, which he celebrated upon all Occasions; he gave a *Greek Comedy* at the *Neapolitan Games*; and bestow'd Crowns on the Players according to the Sentence of the Judges. Nor did he pass by *Mark Anthony* without a grateful Remembrance and Distinction; having declar'd in an Edict, *That he was the more desirous to have them celebrate the Birth-Day of his Father Drusus, because it was the same with his Grand-Father Anthony's.* The Marble Arch by *Pompey's Theatre*, which the Senate had formerly decreed to *Tiberius*, and which had been neglected, he finish'd: And tho' he annull'd all his Acts, yet he forbade the Day of *Caius's* Murder, notwithstanding it was that of his Accession to the Empire, to be enter'd among the Festivals.

12. In assuming Dignity and State to himself, he was very temperate, abstaining from the Prænomens of *IMPERATOR*, and refusing great Honours; and the Spousals of his Daughter, and his Grand-Son's Birth-Day, he pass'd over in Silence, and only observ'd them privately in the Family. He recall'd no Exile, but by the Authority of the Senate, and ask'd their Permission to \* bring the Pretorian Prefect and the Tribunes of the Soldiers with him into the House, and that the Judgments of his Procurators might be ratify'd; and desir'd the Consuls to allow him the Profits of the *Nundinæ* for his private Revenue. He was often present with the Magistrates at Trials, as †† one of their Council; and when they exhibited Games, he himself rose with the rest of the Spectators, and did them Reverence with his Voice and Hand. The Tribunes of the People coming up to him before his Tribunal, he excus'd it that because the Place was narrow, he cou'd not

P 3

hear

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\* These Officers were not of Quality enough to sit in the House, without a particular Dispensation. Claudius chose to have them with him for the Security of his Person, and to fortify his Interest there and over-awe their Debates.

†† After the Example of *Tiberius*, p. 198.



hear them unless they stood. By this he in a short Time purchas'd the Love and Favour of the People so absolutely, that when it was reported he was kill'd by Treachery at *Ostia*, whither he went, in a wonderful Consternation they continu'd cursing the Soldiers for Traitors, and the Senate for Parricides, till the Magistrates produc'd before the *Rostra*, one and another, and at last several Messengers, who assur'd them he was safe and was just approaching.

13. Yet was he not altogether free from traiterous Designs ; for he was attempted by single Persons, and by united Conspiracies, and at last was in Danger of being involv'd in a Civil War. An ordinary Fellow of the meanest of the People, was taken near his Bed-Chamber at Midnight with a Dagger about him. Two of the Equestrian Order also were found laying wait for him abroad, arm'd with a Tuck and a Huntsman's Hatchet ; of whom one design'd to have assaulted him as he came out of the Theatre, and the other as he was sacrificing in the Temple of *Mars*. And *Gallius Asinius* and *Statilius Corvinus*, the Grand-Sons of *Pollio* and *Meffalla* the Orators, projected new Commotions, having engag'd several of his Freedmen and Slaves. *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, the Legate of *Dalmatia*, set on foot a Civil War, but was crush'd within five Days ; the Legions which he had reduc'd to violate their \* Oath, being mov'd by some Religious Impressions, repented themselves and return'd to their Duty : For when they were order'd to March to their new Emperor, either by Accident or by the Influence of the Gods, the Eagles cou'd not be † prepar'd, nor the Ensigns be †† pull'd out of the Ground.

14. He

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\* The Oath they had lately taken to *Claudius*.

† Anointed, and dress'd with Laurels and Flowers ; which was a Roman Custom to give a happy Omen to an Enterprise. In the present Case 'tis likely they said, the Unguents wou'd not adhere, nor the Greens keep on.

†† The Staff of the Ensign was stuck into the Ground ; if it did not arise easily at the Pull, it boded Misfortune.

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 319

14. He held four Consulates after his first: The first two of which he \* conjoin'd; the others were with the Interval of four Years; the last he bore for six Months, and the rest for two only; the third time, contrary to the Example of any former Prince, he was chosen in the Room of one who dy'd. While he was Consul, and afterwards, he administer'd Justice with the last Attention and Application, even upon the Days of rejoicing for himself or his Friends, and upon the antient Festivals, and the Times belonging to Religious Rites. Nor did he always follow the Letter of the Laws, but temper'd the Rigour or Lenity of them according to the Rules of Equity and Justice, where he saw it convenient. For those who had lost their Suits before the lower Judges by † exceeding in their Demands, he permitted to renew them again; and when any were convicted of flagrant Frauds, he exceeded the Penalties appointed by Law, and condemn'd them to the Beasts.

15. In examining and making his Decisions, he acted with great Variety: For sometimes he was very wary and exact, and sometimes hasty and precipitate, and at other times he was trifling and just like a Mad Man. When he review'd the Decuries of the Judges, whoever waving the X *Jus Liberorum*, by which he was privileg'd not to attend, appear'd and answer'd to his Name, he dismiss'd him as a Person too ambitious of the Office. And one of them being summon'd upon a Cause of his own before the Emperor, and replying that the Matter lay properly before the ordinary Judge, he immediately nam'd him to hear it, and made him determine the Affair himself, that by his Decision in his own  
P 4 Cause,

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\* See the Note, p. 261.

† If a Debtor claim'd more than his Due, by the Roman Law he lost his Debt.

X See the Note, p. 211.

Cause, it might appear how just he would be in another's. A certain Woman refusing to acknowledge her Son, and the Proofs being doubtful on both sides, he oblig'd her to confess the Fact, by ordering her to marry the Youth. He made no Difficulty to give Judgment against such as were absent in Favour of those who appear'd in Court, never regarding whether their Absence proceeded from willful Negligence, or from Necessity. Some Body crying out once upon a Trial, that a Man who was guilty of Forgery ought to have his Hands cut off, he call'd for the Executioner immediately to bring in an Ax and a Butcher's Block. A Person being arraign'd for not having a legal Title to the Privileges of a *Roman*, a ridiculous Dispute arose between the Advocates on either Hand, whether he ought to plead dress'd in a \* Gown or a † Cloke; on which Occasion, to shew he wou'd adjust it in the most accurate and impartial Manner, he order'd him to change his Habit alternately, as he was accus'd or defended. In one Cause he is said to have read his Judgment out of his || Note-Book thus, *I decree it for those who spoke the Truth*. He render'd himself so mean and little by these Things, that every one openly despis'd him. Some Body excusing a Witness that was summon'd out of one of the Provinces, and alledging he cou'd not appear so soon, and not assigning the Reason of it till after a World of Questions, *Why*, says he, *he is dead at Puteoli*. Another returning him Thanks for permitting him to make his Defence when he was accus'd, *But this is no more*, he added, *than what was always allow'd*. I have also heard some antient Men

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\* *The Habit of a Roman Citizen.*

† *The Habit of a Stranger, who had not the Rights of a Citizen of Rome.*

|| *In this he seems to have imitated Augustus, who us'd to read his Answers and Orders from a Book of Minutes; p. 130.*



Men say, the Pleaders were wont to abuse his Patience so shamefully, that they not only call'd to him to stay, as he came down from the Tribunal, but held him by the Skirts of his Gown, and sometimes by his Feet. And lest any shou'd be surpriz'd at this, a *Greekling*, a contemptible Dabbler in Causes, had the Assurance to tell him, *Καὶ σὺ γέρον ἐῖ, καὶ μωρός*, *Thou art both an old Man and a Fool*. It is well known, that a *Roman Knight*, who by the Malice of his Enemies was falsly accus'd of treating Women obscenely, when he saw the common Prostitutes cited into Court against him, and their Testimony receiv'd, loudly upbraided his Folly and Barbarity, and threw his Style and his Table-Book, which he held in his Hand, so violently at his Head, that he wounded him in the Face.

16. He bore the Office of Questor, which had been omitted for a \* long Time, after *Paullus* and *Plancus*; and in this also he behav'd himself very unequally, and with a strange Variety of Understanding and Success. At a Review of the Knights, he dismiss'd without Ignominy a Youth who was very scandalous, because his Father declar'd he had a perfectly good Opinion of him, saying, *He has his own Censur*. † Another who was noted for Corruptions and Adulteries, he only advis'd to indulge his Inclinations more sparingly, or at least with greater Caution; adding, *For what Reason have I to know what Mistress you keep?* And when at the Intreaties of his Friends he repeal'd the Censure he had laid upon another of the Knights, *However*, says he, *the || Blot will remain*. A Person of noble Character, and the Chief of the Province of *Greece*, happening not to understand the

P 5

Latin

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\* *Sixty-nine Years.*

† *Of the Knights, whom Claudius was now reviewing.*

|| *Tho' the Judicial Censure was now recall'd, yet that he had once incurr'd it, wou'd be always remember'd against him as a Blemish.*

*Latin* Tongue, he not only struck him out of the Judges Roll, but also pronounc'd him a \* Stranger. He oblig'd every one also to give an Account of his Behaviour by Word of Mouth, as well as he was able, allowing him no Patron to assist him in his Story. He branded many, and several who did not expect it, and for a new sort of Crime, because they went out of *Italy* without his Knowledge and Leave. And one he censur'd, because he had join'd himself to the † Train of one of the Kings in the Provinces; alledging, that in former Times, *Rabirius Posthumus* was impeach'd before the Judges of Treason, for having follow'd *Ptolemy* to *Alexandria*, tho' it was to recover a Debt. He proceeded to blemish more, but by the Carelessness of the Officers who inform'd him of their Characters, and to his own Shame, he found them innocent of the Charge. And those whom he tax'd with Celibacy, or Want of Children, or Poverty, prov'd themselves to be marry'd, and to be Fathers, and rich. And even one whom he accus'd of stabbing himself, pull'd off his Cloaths, and shew'd there was no Print of a Wound upon his Body. The ‡ remarkable Passages in his Censorship were these; A Silver Chariot, very finely made, was to be sold in the *Sigillarian* Street, he commanded it to be bought, and to be broken in Pieces before him; and in one Day he publish'd twenty Edicts, one of which was, *That since there was a very fruitful Vintage, they shou'd take Care to have their Vessels well pitch'd;* and

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\* See the Note just above.

† It was thought a Degree of Servitude, and a Diminution of the Dignity of the Roman People, for a Roman to accept a Service or Employment under a foreign Prince. *Rabirius* was arraign'd for this Crime, and *Cicero* has left us an Oration in his Defence.

‡ Remarkable for Weakness and Absurdity.

and another, *That nothing was ſo good againſt the Bite of a Viper, as the || Juice of a Tew-Tree.*

17. He undertook only one Expedition, and that was of ſmall Importance. For the Triumphal Ornaments which the Senate had decreed him he thought were too low an Honour to his Majeſty, and being willing to have the Glory of a \* juſt Triumph, he made Choice of *Britain* for the Scene where to merit it, which had never been attempted by any ſince *Julius*, and was now in an Inſurrection, becauſe ſome Fugitives, whom they demanded, were not reſtor'd. As he ſail'd hither from *Oſtia*, he was twice in Danger of being drown'd by a violent † Whirlwind, near || *Liguria*, and near the †† *Stæchades*: Wherefore he perform'd his Journey from *Marſeilles* to ‡ *Gefforiacum* on foot, and there croſs'd the Seas: And Part of the Iſland yielding to him in a few Days without Battel or Bloodſhed, he return'd to *Rome* the Sixth Month after his ſetting out, and triumph'd with the greateſt Magnificence. To the beholding of this Pomp, he not only permitted the Governors of the Provinces to repair to the City, but ſuffer'd ſeveral of the Exiles alſo to return. Among the Spoils of the Enemy, he affix'd at the Front of the Palace a Naval Crown, juſt by the Civic, as a Token that he had paſs'd over, and in a manner ſubdu'd the Ocean. His Wife *Mæſalina* follow'd his Chariot

|| *Claudius is thought to have been very much out in his Preſcription, becauſe the Juice of this Tree is ſaid to be venomous.*

\* *A full Triumph with all its Glory.*

† *Circius Ventus, A furious Eddy Wind, peculiar to Gallia Narbonenſis.*

|| *A Country of Italy by the Sea-side, call'd la Rivera de Genoua.*

†† *Three Iſlands not far from Marſeilles, now the Iſles d'Hieres.*

‡ *St. Omer's, according to Turnebus.*



Chariot in a *Carpentum* ; after which came those who had obtain'd the Triumphal Ornaments in the same War, and the rest march'd on foot in the *Prætextæ* ; but *Crassus Frugi* was mounted on a caparison'd Horse, and wore a Vest embroider'd with Palm, because it was the second time of his accompanying such a Shew.

18 He was extremely careful to preserve the City in Safety, and to furnish it with Provisions. A Fire breaking out in the \* *Æmilian* Buildings, and burning furiously, he sat up two Nights in the || *Diribitorium* ; and the Soldiers and the Companies of the Gladiators not being Hands enough for the Occasion, he caus'd the Magistrates to summon in the Common People from every Quarter to assist him ; and placing a Heap of Money before him, encourag'd them to exert themselves, assuring them every one shou'd immediately be rewarded for his Pains. A Scarcity happening, by reason of several Years successively barren, he was stop'd in the middle of the *Forum* by the Rabble, who threw Heaps of broken Bread and Offals at him, and he escap'd with much Difficulty thro' a Back-door to the Palace: Upon this he contriv'd all manner of Ways to bring Supplies to the City, even in the Winter. For he offer'd large Gains to the Merchants ; and whatever Losses happen'd by the Dangers of the Seas, he took them upon himself; and for all who shou'd build Ships of Burden, he appointed great Advantages, according to every Man's Condition. To the Citizens he gave an Exemption from the † *Papian-Popean* Law ; to the *Latins*, the Privileges of *Romans* ; and to the Women, the

\* *See*

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\* A Range of Buildings without the City-Gates.

|| A Building begun by Agrippa, for the Officers (*Diribitores*) who gave out Tickets to the People as they went to vote at Elections in the *Campus Martius*.

† A Law strictly enforcing Marriages: It was call'd so from the Consuls *Papius Mutilus*, and *Q. Popeus*, by whom it was pass'd.

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 325

\* *Jus Quatuor Liberorum* ; which Constitutions of his are observ'd at this Day.

19. He rais'd several Edifices, which were rather great than necessary: The Principal of them were the † Aqueduct began by *Caius*, a Sluce to the *Fucine* Lake, and the Haven at *Ostia* ; tho' of the two last, he knew one was refus'd to the †† *Marfians* by *Augustus* when they earnestly desir'd it, and the other was often design'd by *Julius*, and omitted because of the Difficulties. The Springs of the × *Claudian* Water, which were cold and fruitful, of which one was call'd the *Cerulian*, and the other the *Curtian* and the *Albudine*, he brought into the City, and also the Channel of the *Anien* by a Canal of Stone, and divided them into a great many very beautiful Lakes. His Undertaking to empty the *Fusine* Lake, was as much from a Hope of Profit, as from Ambition of Glory ; several private Persons having offer'd to perform it, on Condition they might have the Soil granted to them when it was drain'd. And having partly dug thro', and partly levell'd the Mountain for the Length of three Miles, with a World of Labour he discharg'd the Canal ; but it was after eleven Years Space, tho' Thirty Thousand Workmen were continually employ'd upon it without Intermission. He form'd the Port of *Ostia*, producing the Works on each Hand, and making a large Mole in the Depth of the Sea at the Entrance of the Harbour ; to strengthen the Foundation of which, he sunk there the Ship which brought the  
huge

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\* The Privilege of four Children ; by which a Woman who had been the Mother of that Number, was made capable of inheriting from her Children, which otherwise by the Roman Laws Women cou'd not do.

† See Page 263.

†† A People of Latium, who dwelt near the Lake.

× Call'd so from *Claudius*, who thus laid them into the City.

huge \* Obelisk from *Egypt*, and fixing down Piles, erected on them a very high Tower like the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, by Fires in the Night to direct Mariners in their Steering.

20. He often gave Congiaries to the People, and exhibited many Shews and very magnificent; not only such as were usual, and in the accustom'd Places, but several also of his own inventing, and antient ones reviv'd, and in those Parts where they had never been before. He declar'd the Games for the Dedication of *Pompey's Theatre*, from his Tribunal in the *Orchestra*, having first made his Supplications in the \* Temple which was over it, and pass'd from thence to the Pit, the whole Assembly † keeping their Seats, and being silent as he pass'd along. He held also the secular Games, as if they had been anticipated by *Augustus*, and not reserv'd to the proper Time; tho' in his own History he says, *That after they had been long interrupted, Augustus made a very exact Computation of the Years, and reduc'd them into Order.* The Proclamation of the Crier therefore was laugh'd at, who with the wonted Solemnity invited all to the Games which no Man had yet seen, nor shou'd ever behold again: For several were then living, who had seen them before; and some of the Actors who had perform'd in the former, appear'd also in these. He had also the *Circensian Sports* frequently play'd in the *Vatican*, interposing sometimes a Hunting of Wild Beasts at the End of every fifth Career. He adorn'd the largest Circus with Marble Barriers and Golden Goals, which us'd formerly to be of common Stone and Wood; and provided distinct Seats for the Senators, who before

\* A large Stone, square and of a huge Height, sharpening to a Point by Degrees, and inscrib'd with Hieroglifical Sculptures.

\* Of Venus, which was frequently built over other Temples.

† Which shew'd their Contempt of *Claudius*.



fore fate promiscuously with the People. Beside the Chariot-Races, he exhibited the *Trojan Exercise* and Chases of Wild Beasts of *Africa*, by a Troop of the Pretorian Horse, led up by the Tribunes and the \* Prefect himself. And a Body of *Thessalian* Horsemen drove fierce Bulls round the *Circus*, and when they had tir'd them out, leap'd upon them and pull'd them down by the Horns. Combats of Gladiators he also exhibited in several Places, and in great Numbers. He gave one yearly in the Pretorian Camp, without any Huntings of Beasts or pompous Preparations; and one in the *Septa* with the full Formalities, and another which was uncommon and very short, for it lasted but a few Days, which he us'd to call a *Sportula*, *A small Treat*; for when he first declar'd it, he said, that *He invited the People as it were to a running Banquet*. Nor was he more free and familiar at any of the Shews, than at these; thrusting out his left Hand with the common People, and telling over upon his † Fingers the Money which was given to the Victors, and counting it aloud; often calling upon the Company also to be merry, and styling them *Masters*, and throwing in low and far-fetch'd Jests. Thus when the Spectators cry'd out for *Palumbus*, *Ye shall have him*, says he, *as soon*

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\* *The Præfectus-Prætorianus, or Captain of the Pretorian Guards; not the Prefect of the City.*

† *The Antients us'd to reckon upon their Fingers; they us'd the left Hand for all Numbers under 100, after which they employ'd the Right. To this Custom Juvenal alludes, Sat. 10.*

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Qui tot per sæcula vitam  
Distulit, atque suos jam dextra computat annos.

*Blest, to defraud the Grave so long, to mount  
His numbr'd Years, and on his Right Hand count.*  
Mr. Dryden,

soon as he is X caught. And giving a Discharge with universal Approbation to an *Essedarius*, for whom his four Sons interceded, he immediately publish'd a Billet, in which he reminded the People, how much every one ought to endeavour to bring up Children, since they saw what a Favour a Gladiator had obtain'd by the Interest of his Sons. He represented in the *Campus Martius*, the Siege and storming of a Town according to the Rules of War, and the Kings of Britain surrendering themselves to him, and presided at the Shew in his General's Robe. When he was going to empty the *Fucine Lake*, he first caus'd a Sea-Fight to be perform'd upon it; but the Champions calling out to him, *Save you, Emperor, those who are to die salute thee*, he answer'd, *Save you also*: Upon this, as if he excus'd them from the Fight, no Man caring to strike a Stroke, he consider'd for some Time whether he shou'd not destroy them all by Fire and Sword; and at length leaping from his Seat, he ran along the Side of the Lake, shaking and trembling in a ridiculous Manner, and partly by Threats and partly by Incouragements, prevail'd upon them to begin the Battel. In it the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* Fleets engag'd, each of which consisted of twelve Gallies carrying three Banks of Rowers; and a Silver Triton, arising from the Middle of the Lake by Machinery, blew the Charge.

21. With respect to Religious Rites, and Civil and Military Customs, and concerning the several Orders both at Home and Abroad, he either corrected several Things, or reviv'd some which were obsolete, or made new Institutions. In choosing the Priests by their Colleges, he never nam'd them but upon his \* Oath. Nor did he fail as often as an Earthquake happen'd in the City, to make the Pretor call an Assembly

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X A Pun upon his Name *Palumbus*, which is deriv'd from *Palumba*, a Pigeon.

\* That he had made the best Choice he cou'd.

Assembly and proclaim a Day for Devotion; or if an ill-omen'd Bird was seen in the City or the *Capitol*, to hold a Supplication to the Gods, which he began himself by the Right of being High-Priest, having first deliver'd an Admonition to the People from the *Rostra*, and caus'd all the †† Mechanics and Slaves to be remov'd.

22. The Time for hearing of Causes, which before was divided into Winter and Summer-Months, he appointed to be the whole Year without Distinction; and whereas the Magistrates took Cognizance of Persons falsifying their Trust but once a Year, and only in the City, he ordain'd it shou'd be done at all Times, and even by the Rulers in the Provinces. The Clause which *Tiberius* added to the † *Papia-Poppian* Law, as if Men of Sixty Years old were not able to beget Children, he alter'd. He decreed that the Guardians of Wards in \* Cases extraordinary, shou'd be nominated by the Consuls, and that such as were interdicted the Provinces by the Magistrates, shou'd be also remov'd from the City, and sent out of *Italy*. He sentenc'd some after a new Manner, forbidding them to go above twenty Miles from the City. When he was to decide any Matters of Importance, he sat in the Tribune's Seat between both the Consuls: And the Power of granting Passes, for which the Senate us'd to be apply'd to, he assum'd to himself.

23. He

†† Because these were Foreigners, and they were not thought worthy to mix with the Romans in Religious Rites.

† The Law mention'd above.

\* When the Father had nam'd no Guardian, and there was no near Relation to take the Charge, the Pretor and others appointed one. This Power *Claudius* now transferr'd to the Consuls.



23. He permitted even the *\* Procuratores Ducenarii* to use the Consular Ensigns ; and those who refus'd the Senatorian Dignity, he depriv'd also of the Equestrian. Tho' at the Beginning of his Reign he had declar'd he wou'd make no Man a Senator, who was not the Great Grand-Son of a *Roman Citizen*, he gave the Habit to the Son of his || Freeman ; but upon Condition he shou'd first be adopted by a *Roman Knight* : Yet even thus being afraid of Censure, he affirm'd, that his Progenitor *Appius Cæcus* introduc'd the Sons of Freemen into the Senate ; not considering that in the Days of *Appius*, and for some Time after, not those who were manumitted, but those who descended from them and were free-born, were term'd *Libertini*, or *Free*. He appointed the College of Questors, instead of looking to the Ways, to take Care of the Gladiatory Shews ; and removing them from the Charge of the Havens and the Government of *Gaul*, he restor'd to them the Management of the Treasury of *Saturn*, which had been executed in the mean time by the Pretors, or by Persons who had been Pretors. He bestow'd the Triumphal Ornaments on *Silanus*, who was contracted to his Daughter, tho' he was under Age ; and imparted them to such a Multitude of Persons who were come to Majority, and with so much Readiness, that there was a Letter extant in the Name of all the Legions, in which they desire *he wou'd with the Command of the Army also grant the Triumphal Ornaments to the Consular Lieutenants, that they might not seek Occasions of a War*. He decreed an Ovation to *A. Plautius*, and met him as he enter'd the City, and march'd by his Side as he went to the Capitol, and as he came back ; and he allow'd *Gabinus Secundus*, who conquer'd the *Chauci*, a Nation in Germany, to assume the Cognomen of *Chaucius*.

24. The

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\* Call'd so, because their Salary was 200 greater Sesterces.

|| Libertinus.

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 331

24. The Promotion of Knights to Military Posts. He settled in this Method: After the Command of a Cohort, he gave that of a Wing; and after that, the Tribuneship of a Legion. He appointed Stipends for a Kind of imaginary Troops which he instituted, call'd *Super Numerum*, *Supernumeraries*; which consisted of Persons absent, who appear'd only by their Names. He forbid even by a Decree of the Senate, the Soldiers to enter the Senators Houses to make their Salutations; and put to Sale such Freemen, who liv'd after the Manner of *Roman* Knights; and reduc'd into Servitude again, such as were \* ungrateful and of whom their Patrons complain'd; refusing to give Sentence against them who had enfranchis'd them, when their Advocates apply'd for it. Some having sent their Slaves, when they were sick to the Island of † *Æsculapius*, not caring to be at the Trouble of providing them with a Cure, he pronounc'd the Slaves to be free, and that they shou'd not return to their Masters Service if they recover'd; and if any one chose to destroy them rather than send them thither, he declar'd him guilty of Murder. He oblig'd Travellers not to pass thro' the Towns of *Italy*, unless on X Foot, or in a Chair, or in a Litter; and plac'd several Cohorts at *Puteoli* and *Ostia*, to be at hand in Case of Fires. He forbid Foreigners to take *Roman* Names, except they were also proper to their own Country. Such as illegally assum'd the Liberty of the City, he beheaded in the *Campus Esquilinus*. The Provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, which

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\* A Freedman was term'd *Ingratus*, when he refus'd to acknowledge or respect his Patron or Master who had given him his Freedom, or to do a Service to him or to his Children. There were Laws among the Romans against this Crime.

† Now the Island of St. Bartholomew.

X To prevent their hurting the Roads by heavy Carriages, and by Horses.

which *Tiberius* had taken under his own Care, he gave back to the Senate. He depriv'd the *Lycians* of their Freedom, for their irreconcilable Discords among themselves; and restor'd theirs to the *Rhodians*, upon their repenting of their former Crimes. The *Ilians*, as Founders of the *Roman* Nation, he exempted from Tribute for ever; reciting an old *Greek* Letter from the Senate and People of *Rome*, in which they assur'd King *Seleucus* of their Friendship and Alliance, if he wou'd release the *Ilians*, their Kindred, from all Burdens and Imposts. He expell'd the \* *Jews* from *Rome*, who were continually making Insurrections at the Instigation of † *CHRESTUS*. He permitted the *German* Ambassadors to sit in the *Orchestra*, being mov'd to it by the Frankness and Resolution which they express'd, when being plac'd in the Theatre among the common people, and observing the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Envoys late among the Senators, they remov'd to the *Orchestra* of their own accord, declaring they were not at all inferior to the others, either in Valour or Dignity. The Religion of the *Druids* among the *Gauls*, which was extravagantly || barbarous, and which *Augustus* had only forbidden to the *Roman* Citizens, he entirely abolish'd. On the contrary, he endeavour'd to translate the *Eleusinian* Rites from *Attica* to *Rome*; and caus'd the Temple of *Venus Erycina* in *Sicily*, which was fallen to Ruine by Time, to be repair'd out of the *Roman* Treasury. He made Leagues with foreign Kings in the *Forum*, slaying a Sow and using the antient Form of Declaration by the *Feciales*. But these and other Things,  
and

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\* The Romans commonly confounded the Jews and the Christians together. It is likely the Jews were at that Time making a restless Opposition to the Christians, which might be an Occasion of some publick Disturbances.

† So the Heathens have styl'd our Blessed Saviour, either thro' Ignorance or Contempt.

|| They us'd human Sacrifices.



## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 333

and almost his whole Administration, proceeded not so much from himself, as from the Directions of his Wives and his Freedmen; for he was generally such in his Conduct, as it was their Interest or Pleasure he shou'd be.

25. He was twice contracted in his Youth: to *Æmilia Lepida*, the Great Grand-Daughter of *Augustus*, and to *Livia Medullina*, who had also the Cognomen of *Camilla*, from the antient Line of *Camillus* the Dictator. He divorc'd the former while she was a Virgin, because her Parents had offended *Augustus*; and he lost the other by a Fit of Sickness on the very Day appointed for their Nuptials. He afterwards marry'd *Plautia Urgulanilla*, whose Father had triumph'd; and then *Ælea Petina*, the Daughter of a Consular Man: He divorc'd them both; *Petina* for some light Objections, and *Urgulanilla* for the Scandal of her Debaucheries, and the Suspicion of Murder. After these he marry'd *Valeria Messallina*, the Daughter of *Barbarus Messalla*, his Cousin-German: Among whose other infamous Lewdnesses, having discover'd that she was marry'd to *Silius*, he gave her back her Dowry in the Presence of the Soothsayers, and then put her to Death; and declar'd in an Oration to the Pretorian Guards, *That since his Marriages had prov'd so unhappy, he wou'd live single, and if he did not continue so, he wou'd freely give them Leave to stab him.* Yet he cou'd not refrain, but immediately treated about a Marriage, even with *Petina*, whom he had divorc'd, and with *Lollia Paulina*, who had been the Wife of † *Caius Cæsar*. But being insnar'd by the subtle Trains of *Agrippina*, the Daughter of his Brother *Germanicus*, and inflam'd with Love of her by the frequent Opportunities of Kissing and Dalliance, which the Privilege of his near Relation furnish'd him with, he suborn'd some Body at the next Meeting of the Senate, to propose that he shou'd be oblig'd to marry her, as if it were

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† Caligula.

were a Thing for the utmost Advantage to the State, and that † others shou'd be allow'd to make such Marriages, as had till that Time been accounted incestuous. Upon this, without losing a Day, he celebrated the Nuptials; but none appear'd to follow the Example, except a certain Freeman and a *Primi-pilaris*, at the Ceremony of whose Marriage he was present himself with *Agrippina*.

26. He had Children by three Wives; *Drusus* and *Claudia* by *Urgulanilla*, *Antonia* by *Petina*, and by *Messalina* *Octavia*, and his Son whom he first nam'd *Germanicus*, and afterwards *Britannicus*. He lost *Drusus* while a Minor at *Pompeii*; for tossing up a Pear in Play, and catching it in his Mouth, it fell in upon his Throat and choak'd him: A few Days before which, he was contracted to *Sejanus's* Daughter; and therefore I wonder any shou'd report that he dy'd by the Treachery of *Sejanus*. A Fancy taking him that *Claudia* was begotten by his Freedman *Boter*, tho' she was born five Months before *Urgulanilla* was divorc'd, and he had began to breed her up, he commanded her to be turn'd out naked, and expos'd at her Mother's Door. *Antonia* he gave to *Cn. Pompeius Magnus*, and afterwards to *Faustus Sylla*, two Noble Youths; and *Octavia* to *Nero* his Son-in-Law, tho' she was contracted to *Silanus*. *Britannicus*, who was born the twentieth Day of his Reign, and in his second Consulate, while he was yet a little Child, he us'd to hold in his Arms when he harangu'd the Soldiers, and to dandle him in his Lap before the People at the Shews, or have him standing at his Knees; and was always praising him, and expressing good Wishes for him amid the Acclamations of the Multitude. Of his Sons-in-Law, he adopted *Nero*; and not only rejected *Pompey* and *Silanus*, but also put them to Death.

27. Of

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† To give the better Countenance to his own Practice, by that of others.

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 335

27. Of his Freemen he chiefly affected *Posides* an Eunuch, whom he also presented with a \* *Hæsta pura*, among the Military Men in his *Britannick* Triumph. Nor had he less Affection for † *Felix*, whom he made Commander of a Cohort and of a Wing, and Governor of a Province of *Judea*, and who was the Husband of three Queens. *Harpocras* was also much in his Favour; for he allow'd him the Privilege of being carry'd thro' the City in a Litter, and of exhibiting Publick Shews. But *Polybius*, who instructed him in his Studies, was more in Grace with him yet; for He often shew'd himself in Publick walking between the two Consuls. But above all, *Narcissus* his Secretary, and *Pallas* the Comptroller of his Household; whom he suffer'd not only to have very great Rewards decreed them by the Senate, but also the Ornaments of the Questorship and Preture, and even to commit Rapine and Extorsions; so that when he was complaining once of the Lowness of his Treasury, it was said, not absurdly, *He wou'd be rich enough, if his two Freemen wou'd take him in for a Share.*

28. Being devoted to these Favourites, as I said, and to his Wives, he behav'd himself not as a Prince, but as a Servant. For their Profit, and even for their Fancy and Lust, he dispens'd Honours, the Command of Armies, Impunities and Punishments; and at the same Time was perfectly ignorant of what he did. Not to mention all minute Instances of this particularly; as the recalling his Bounties, reversing his Judgments, the Commissions which were either forg'd or openly alter'd; he put to Death *Appius Silanus*, to whose Son *Octavia* had been contracted; the two *Julia's*, one the Daughter of *Drusus*, and the other of *Germanicus*, for an uncertain Crime, and not allowing

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\* *A Spear without a Steel Head. It was one of the Military Rewards among the Romans.*

† *The same before whom St. Paul was brought, Acts 23.*



lowing them any Defence; as also *Cn. Pompey*, his eldest Daughter's Husband, and *L. Silanus*, who was contracted to his younger. Of these *Pompey* was stabb'd in the Embraces of a beloved Catamite, and *Silanus* was forc'd to lay down the Pretorship before the 4th of the Kalends of *January*, and was murder'd at the Beginning of the Year, on the very Day of the Nuptials of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*. He gave Sentence against five and thirty Senators, and above three hundred *Roman* Knights, so readily, that a Centurion who brought him Word of the Execution of a Consular Man, saying, *What he had order'd was done*; he deny'd he had given any Orders, *But however*, he said, *he approv'd the Thing*, only because his Freedmen assur'd him, the Soldiers had done their Duty in running out to \* revenge their Emperor of their own accord. But it is almost beyond Belief, that at the Marriage which *Messallina* celebrated with *Silius* her Adulterer, he himself shou'd sign an Instrument for her Dowry; yet he was induc'd to do it, from an Imagination that the whole Affair was only a Device to avert from himself, and transfer upon another, the Danger with which some Portents had threaten'd him.

29. He wanted not a Majesty and Dignity in his Person, either when he stood or sat, but especially when he slept; For he was tall, and yet not slender, and his Complexion was clear, his Hair fair, and his Neck strong-set and large: But his Knees were weak, and fail'd him as he walk'd; and he had several ungraceful Circumstances of Behaviour, both when he was merry or serious. He had an unhandsome Laugh, and made a very loathsome Spectacle when he was in a Passion; for then he drivell'd at the Mouth, and his Nose always ran. He had a  
Stammer-

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\* As if the Senators and Knights whom the Soldiers had put to Death, were engag'd in a Design to kill the Emperor.

## Tiberius Claudius Drusus Cæsar. 337

Stammering also in his Speech, and a continual Shaking of his Head, if he engag'd in the least Action.

30. As his State of Health before he came to be Emperor was bad, so afterwards it was very sound, and he was seldom ill ; except with a Pain in his Stomach, being taken with a Fit of which, he began to think of putting an End to his Life.

31. He gave large and frequent Entertainments, and generally in very spacious Places, so that he had six Hundred at Table at once. As he was feasting once just by the Drain of the *Fucine Lake*, he had like to have been drown'd by the Water's breaking in impetuously on a sudden. At every Banquet he had his Children present, with Boys and Girls of Quality, who, after the antient manner, were serv'd at the lower End. Suspecting that one of the Guests had stolen a Golden Cup the Day before, he invited him to come again the next Day, and caus'd him to be serv'd in an Earthen Mug. 'Tis said, he was thinking also to make an Order, *That every one might have the Liberty of Belching and breaking Wind at Table*, because he was inform'd a certain Guest had curb'd himself so long out of Modesty, that it endanger'd his Life.

32. He eat and drank very greedily at any Hour and in any Place. As he was hearing Causes once in *Augustus's Forum*, he was struck with the Smell of the Banquet which was preparing for the \* *Salii* in the Temple of *Mars* just by, and leaving the Bench, went thither directly and took his Place among them. He seldom rose from Table, but full-gorg'd and running over ; and laying himself down at Length, and dozing with his Mouth open, they thrust a Feather into his Throat, to make him discharge his Stomach. His Sleeps were very short ; for he generally wak'd before Midnight, and therefore he wou'd sometimes fall asleep in the Day as he sat in Court, so that the

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\* *An Order of Priests belonging to Mars.*

Advocates cou'd scarcely rouze him, tho' they rais'd their Voices on purpose. He was libidinous towards Women, but never concern'd himself with Males. He gam'd at the Dye extremely, and even publish'd a Book upon the Art; and us'd to play as he rode along, his Chariot being contriv'd with proper Conveniences for the Game.

33. It appear'd by several Things, as well great as small, that he was of a cruel and bloody Temper. He caus'd Persons to be examin'd by Torture, and || Parricides to be punish'd before his Face. Having a great Mind when he was at *Tibur* to see an Example of the Punishment after the † antient Manner, some Criminals were mark'd out for it, and the Executioner not being at hand, he sent for one from the City, and waited to see it till the Evening. At any Combat of Gladiators, whether exhibited by himself or another, he always caus'd the Champions who were vanquish'd, to be strangled, especially the *Retiarii*, that he might view their Countenances as they expir'd. A certain Pair killing each other on the Spot, he commanded some small Knives to be immediately made for his own Use of their Weapons. He was so wonderfully delighted with the \* *Bestiarii* and the Meridian Combatants, that he resorted to those

|| They were sew'd up in a Sack, and thrown into the Sea.

† To be stripp'd naked and put into a Pillory, and so be whipp'd to Death.

\* Two Sorts of Gladiators fought successively on the Theatre in one Day. The first were call'd *Bestiarii*; these fought in the Morning, and were furnish'd with Arms: But the others, who were term'd the Meridian Combatants, because they fought at Noon, were naked and defenceless, and if they escap'd then, were reserv'd to be destroy'd another Day. See Seneca, Epist. 7. These were the last Gladiators that appear'd for that Day. To this inhuman Custom the Text 1 Cor. 4. 9. alludes.



those Shews at Break of Day, and when the People went away to Dinner, sat there all the Time; and beside the appointed Champions, he wou'd upon any trifling and sudden Occasion, force on some of the Workmen and their Servants, if any Part of the Machinery in the Theatre happen'd not to answer. He also turn'd on one of his Nomenclators, as he was in his Gown.

34. His prevailing Passions were Fear and Diffidence. At the Beginning of his Reign, tho' as we said, he affected to seem free and easy in his Behaviour, yet he wou'd not venture to be at an Entertainment, unless he had a Guard of Lances standing round him, and was waited on by Soldiers instead of the Servants; nor did he visit any sick Person, unless the Chamber was first search'd, and the Bedding and Cloaths; and ever afterwards he had Officers to search those who came to make their Salutations to him, in the strictest Manner, without Distinction. And it was after a long Time and with great Difficulty that he was prevail'd on to excuse Women, and noble Boys and Girls from being roughly handled by them, and not to take their Styles from any Attendent or Scribe that approach'd him. When the Civil Commotions were on foot, † *Camillus* not questioning but he shou'd scare him even more than the War it self, sent him a thundring Letter full of Contumely and Threats, commanding him to abandon the Empire, and betake himself to the Obscurity of a private Life: Upon which he call'd a Council of his chief Men to consider whether he shou'd not obey it.

35. He was so terrify'd at some Conspiracies, which upon very slight Grounds were reported to be form'd against him, that he was going to lay down the Empire. A certain Man being taken with Arms, near his Person as he was sacrificing, he immediately

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mediately

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† See Page 318.

mediately summon'd the Senate together by the Criers, and with Tears and mighty Exclamations lamented his Condition, that he was always in Danger ; and for a long Time after he forbore to appear in Publick. He withdrew his passionate Affection to *Messalina* not so much from a Resentment of the Indignities and Abuses she offer'd him, as from a Fear that she design'd to make her Adulterer *Silius*, Emperor ; at which Time he fled in a shameful Manner to the Camp, still enquiring all the Way as he fled, *Whether the Empire were his still or not ?*

36. There was no Suspicion so trifling, tho' it proceeded from ever so inconsiderable a Hand, but it immediately, upon the smallest Intimation, put him in an Alarm, and push'd him on to any extravagant Revenge. One who had a Suit before him, taking him aside as he was making his Salutation, assur'd him he had seen him stabb'd by a certain Person in his Sleep ; and presently, as if he had discover'd the Murderer, he pointed to his Antagonist, who was coming up to offer him a Petition : Upon which he was hal'd away at once to Execution, as if he had been convicted. \* *Appius Silanus* is said to have perish'd in the same Manner : For *Messalina* and *Narcissus* having agreed to destroy him, the Thing was thus concerted ; *Narcissus* rush'd into *Claudius's* Chamber before Day, like a Man out of his Wits, and said he dream'd *Appius* assaulted him ; and *Messalina* pretending to be astonish'd, reply'd she had dream'd the same herself a Night or two before. Just at this Crisis, Word was brought that *Appius*, who had a Message purposely sent him the preceeding Day, to attend at such an Hour, was entering the Room, which put the Truth of the Vision out of all Doubt, and he was immediately order'd to be seiz'd and put to Death. And the next Day he gave a punctual Account of the Affair to the Senate, and return'd

return'd Thanks to his || Freedman, that even in his Sleep he was waking for his Safety.

37. Being conscious to himself of his own X Passion and Resentment, he excus'd it in an Edict, and promis'd that *his Passion shou'd be short and harmless, and his Resentment never without just Occasion.* The Inhabitants of Ostia not sending out Barges to meet him as he went upon the *Tiber*, he reprimanded them severely, and reproach'd them, *that they us'd him like a private Man*, and on a sudden he forgave them, without any Satisfaction. Some Persons addressing themselves to him at an improper Time in Publick, he put them back with his Hand. One of the Scribes belonging to the Questor, and a Senator who had held the Pretorship, he banish'd without giving them a Hearing, tho' they were Innocent; because the first had treated him rudely while he was a Private Man; and the other, because when he was Ædile he had fin'd his Tenants for selling Meats prohibited by the Law, and had scourg'd a Steward who interpos'd in their Behalf. For the same Reason he also depriv'd the Ædiles of their Power of restraining the Victualing-Houses. Nor did he forbear to take Notice of his own Folly; for he declar'd in some silly Orations which he publish'd, that he dissembled it under *Caius*, because he had no other Way to secure himself, and arrive at the Empire. But this found very little Credit; for in a short Time a Book came out, entitled \* *Μαγαν ἀνέκδοτος*; the Subject of which was, that *no Fool ever dissembled Folly.*

Q 3

38. Among

|| Narcissus.

X *Ira & Iracundia*, which are thus distinguish'd by Seneca : *The first is a transient Fit of Anger, the other a settled Habit of Ill-Nature and Spleen.*

\* *The Resurrection of Fools.* This Book being plainly a Satire upon Claudius, was design'd to prove his Folly was real and not dissembled, as he affected to give out.



38. Among other Things which were surprising in him, were his Forgetfulness and Inconsideration, or as the *Greeks* call it, his *μελᾱρία καὶ ἀβελειὰ*. Not long after he had put *Messalina* to Death, when he was at Table, he enquir'd *Why the Empress did not come in*; and several Persons whom he had executed, he us'd to invite to dine and play at Dice with him the next Day, and to send a Messenger to rally them for Sluggards, because they did not immediately appear. Going to declare *Agrippina* his Wife contrary to Law, he always styl'd her in his Orations, *' His Daughter and Foster-Child, born and educated in his Bosom*: And when he was to adopt *Nero* into his Family, as if it were no Shame for him to adopt a Son-in-Law when his own Son was now of Age, he repeatedly declar'd, *† That no one had ever been implanted into the Claudian Family by Adoption*.

39. He often shew'd also such a perfect Negligence of his Words and Actions, that he seem'd neither to know, nor consider to whom, in what Company, or at what Time, or in what Place he was speaking. When a Cause concerning the Butchers and Wine-Sellers was depending, he cry'd out in the Court, *Who, I beseech you, can live without a relishing Bit and a Glass?* and presently nam'd a Multitude of Taverns, where he himself us'd formerly to have his Wine. A certain Person standing for the Questorship, he gave this as one Reason of his voting in his Favour, *That his Father had help'd him to a Draught of cold Water, when he very much wanted it in a Fit of Illness*. And bringing a Woman into the Senate for an Evidence, *This Woman, says he, was Freed-Woman and Robe-*

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\* Which shew'd his Stupidity, that at the same time as he was going to make her his Wife, he publicly styl'd her by those Relations which made it incestuous for him to have her.

† As the Thing had not been done before, there was no Occasion for it now, since he had a Son living.

*Robe-Keeper to my Mother, but ſhe always look'd upon me as her Maſter. I mention this, becauſe there are at this Time ſome in my own Family, who don't think me to be their Maſter. The People of Oſtia ſuing to him for ſome Publick Favour as he ſate on the Bench, he flew into a Paſſion, crying out, He had no manner of Reaſon to oblige them; and that if any Man were at Liberty to do as he pleas'd, himſelf was certainly the Perſon. And it was a daily Saying of his, perpetually in his Mouth on all Occaſions, What d'ye take me to be a \* Telegen-nius, and a mere Babbler? There were ſeveral other Things alſo, which were ridiculous even in a private Man, and much more in a Prince, who wanted neither Eloquence nor Learning, and who employ'd a World of Labour in the Liberal Arts.*

40. In his Youth, at the Inſtigatiſon of *T. Livy*, and by the Aſſiſtance of *Sulpicius Flavius*, he undertook to write a Hiſtory. At the firſt Rehearſal of it in a numerous Audience, he cou'd ſcarcely go thro' with it, for the frequent Interruptions of which he himſelf was the Occaſion. For ſome Benches breaking down by the Weight of a certain corpulent Perſon, at the Beginning of the Recital, there aroſe a loud Laugh; and when the Tumult was over, he cou'd not forbear, by reviving the Remembrance of the Accident, to ſet them a laughing again. He wrote ſeveral Things alſo when he was Emperor, and always had them rehears'd, for which Service he made Uſe of a † Reader. He began his Hiſtory from the Death of *Cæſar* the Dictator, and then making an abrupt Transition to later Times, began it aſreſh from the Conclusion of the Civil Wars; becauſe he found he cou'd not be allow'd to ſpeak of the former Times with Freedom or Truth, for his Mother and Grand-Mother us'd often to reprimand and check him. Of

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the

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\* *Some notorious Blockhead.*

† *The general Cuſtom was for an Author to rehearſe his Works himſelf.*

the first Part he left two Volumes, and one and forty of the other. He also compos'd eight Volumes concerning his own Life, which were rather impertinently written than inelegantly; and drew up a learned Defence of Cicero against † *Asinius Gallus*. He invented three Letters, and added them to the rest of the Alphabet as highly necessary; and having publish'd a Treatise concerning the Reason of them when he was a private Man, he easily obtain'd to have them us'd promiscuously after he was a Prince: And they are to be found in several Books and diurnal Registries.

41. Nor did he prosecute the *Grecian* Studies with less Care, upon every Occasion expressing his Affection for the Language and praising it. A certain Barbarian making a Discourse in *Greek* and *Latin*, *Since you are skill'd*, says he, speaking to him again, *in both our Tongues, &c.* And in recommending *Achaia* to the Senators, *That Province*, he told them, *was endeared to him by the mutual Intercourse of Studies.* And he often answer'd Ambassadors in the Senate for a long Time together in *Greek*, and wou'd repeat a Multitude of Verses out of *Homer* from the Bench. As often as he reveng'd himself upon an Enemy, or \* one taken in Ambush, when the || Officer came to him according to Custom for the Signal, he seldom gave any other than

Ἀνδρ' ἐπαμυνάω, ὅτε τις πρῶτος χαλεπῶν.

Revenge is just when you are first provok'd.

He

† He wrote a Comparison of his Father *Pollio* the Orator, with *Cicero*, in which he prefer'd his Father.

\* Insidiator. The Word may signifie, either an *Assassine* lying in wait to set upon the Emperor, or an *Enemy* lying in Ambuscade.

|| *Excubitor Tribunus*, The Tribune who commanded the Watch in the Camp, or the Centinels plac'd about the Emperor's Palace.



He also wrote in *Greek* the History of the *Tyrrhenians* in twenty Volumes, and another of the *Carthaginians* in eight; for which he added a new \* *Museum* to the old one at *Alexandria* in his own Name; and ordain'd that in the one his History of the *Tyrrhenians*, and in the other that of the *Carthaginians* shou'd be intirely rehears'd by turns upon stated Days, as before an Auditory.

42. Toward the Close of his Life, he gave several and not obscure Signs of his repenting his Marriage with *Agrippina*, and his Adoption of *Nero*. For some of his Freed-Men speaking of the Judgment he gave the Day before upon a Woman guilty of Adultery, and commending it, he answer'd warmly, That it had been his Destiny to fall into unchaste Marriages, but not to let them go unreveng'd. And meeting *Britannicus* he embrac'd him closely, and bid him grow apace, and he wou'd lay before him an † Account of his Actions; adding in *Greek*, 'Ο ἕως δ' ἐπειγεται, 'Twas †† Love constrain'd me. And he design'd to give him the Gown of Manhood in his tender Years, because his Stature was full grown, That at length, he said, the People of Rome may have a true Cæsar.

43. Not long after, he wrote his Testament, and had it sign'd by all the Magistrates. But before he cou'd take some other Steps which he intended, he was prevented by *Agrippina*, whom her own Conscience condemn'd, and beside these Circumstances, repeated Informations accus'd. of a Multitude of Crimes. It appears that he was destroy'd by Poyson; but when, or by whom it was administer'd, is uncertain. Some say, *Halotus* the Eunuch, his Taster, gave it him as he was feasting in the Temple with the Priests; and others, that it was given him at his own Table by *Agrippina*,

Q. 5

who

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\* A College endow'd for a Number of Learned Men.

† In order to vindicate himself, and make it appear, the several Instances of Male-Administration were owing to some about him.

†† To *Agrippina*.

who knowing him to be an extravagant Lover of Mush-romes, offer'd him one which was poyson'd. The Manner of it's Operation is also variously reported. Some say, he was taken speechless as soon as he had swallow'd it, and having lain in Agonies all Night, expir'd at Morning: Others, that he fell into a Dozing at first, and his Meat rising in his Stomach, he threw all up, and that then they repeated the Medicine; but 'tis doubtful whether in a Broth, as if to strengthen him after his Vomiting, or in a Clyster, under a Notion of easing his Stomach, which was overcharg'd.

44. His Death was conceal'd till all Things were regulated concerning his Successor. Therefore Vows were made for him as if he still lay ill, and Comedians were brought into the Palace under a Pretence of his asking for them to divert him. He dy'd on the \* third of the Ides of October, *Asinius Marcellus* and *Acilius Aviola* being Consuls, in the sixty-fourth Year of his Age and the fourteenth of his Reign. His Funerals were perform'd with the Princely Solemnities, and he was consecrated among the Gods. This Honour was afterwards revers'd and abolish'd by *Nero*, and again renew'd by *Vespasian*.

45. The chief Prefages of his Death were, the Appearance of a blazing Star call'd a Comet; the striking of the Monument of his Father *Drusus* by Lightning; and that in the same Year several dy'd out of every Order of the Magistrates. And he himself seem'd by many Things, neither to be ignorant that his End was approaching, nor to dissemble it. For when he appointed the Consuls, he appointed neither of them for longer than the Month in which he dy'd. And the last time he was in the Senate, he earnestly exhorted his Sons to Concord, and recommended them very tenderly to the House. And the last time he sat in Judgment, he declar'd again and again, tho' all who heard it abhorr'd the † Omen, *He was arriv'd at the End of Mortality.*

THE

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\* Octob. 13th. † i. e. *Wish'd it might not take place.*







THE  
L I F E  
O F

*Nero Claudius Caesar.*



FROM the *Domitian* House arose two celebrated Families, the Line of the *Calvini* and of the *Ænobarbi*. The Founder of the last, and from whom it also receiv'd its *Cognomen*, was *L. Domitius*; to whom, as he was returning from the Country, two \* Youths of a very noble Aspect are said to have appear'd and commanded him to acquaint the Senate and People with the Victory, which was not as yet certainly known; and as a Proof of their Dignity, they strok'd his Face, and chang'd the Hair of it from a dark to a ruddy Colour, like that of Copper. This Mark continu'd in his Posterity, many of whom had yellow Beards. They enjoy'd seven Consulates, two Triumphs, and two Censorships; and being enroll'd among the *Patricians*, had all of them the same *Cognomen* in Common: Nor did they take any other

*Pra-*

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\* *Castor and Pollux.*

*Prænomena* besides those of *Cneius* and *Lucius*, which they assum'd with great Variety, retaining each sometimes thro' three Generations, and sometimes changing them alternately : For the first, the second and the third of the *Ænobarbi* we find were *Lucii*, and the three next *Cneii*, and the others were call'd *Lucii* and *Cneii* by turns. It will be proper, I believe, to give a brief History of some of the Family, that it may the more easily appear *Nero* so degenerated from the Virtues of his Ancestors, that all the Vices of each one seem'd to be united in him.

2. To take my Rise pretty early. His Great-Grandfather's Grandfather, *Cn. Domitius*, when he was Tribune, being enrag'd at the Priests for chusing another and not himself in his Father's Room, caus'd the Right of \* Electing to be transferr'd from the Colleges of the Priests to the People. And in his Consulship, having conquer'd the *Allobroges* and the *Auverni*, he was carry'd thro' the Province on an Elephant, a Throng of Soldiers following him as at the Solemnity of a Triumph. It was of this Man that *Licinius Crassus* the Orator said, *It is no Wonder that he who had an † Iron Mouth and a Leaden Heart, shou'd have a Beard of Brass.* His Son being ‡ Pretor, summon'd *C. Cæsar*, at the Expiration of his Consulship, which he was thought to have sustain'd contrary to the Auspices and the Laws, to an Examination before the Senate. When he was made Consul, he attempted to recall *Cæsar* from his Command of the Armies in *Gaul*; and being nominated by the other  
-† Faction

\* Upon the Death of any in the Colleges or Societies of the Priests, of which there were several among the Romans, they us'd to chuse another in his Stead from the People, or as we now speak, the Laity.

† The Meaning of this Sarcastm is, that he was very impudent and dull.

‡ See Page 20.

-† Faction for his Successor, he was taken at *Corfinium* at the Beginning of the Civil War. Being discharg'd, he went to *Marseilles*, which was close-press'd in a Siege, and animated them by his Presence ; and presently after, deserting to the other side again, he was kill'd in the Battel of *Pharsalia*. He was an inconstant Man and of a cruel Temper. In the desperate Condition of his Affairs he so dreaded the Death he had endeavour'd to procure, that having drank Poyson, he immediately repented and threw it up, and made his Physician free, because he had prepar'd it with such Prudence and Skill as to do him little Harm. And when *Pompey* was deliberating concerning those who stood entirely Neuter, he alone declar'd they ought to be deem'd as Enemies.

3. He left a Son who was certainly to be prefer'd to all the Family. Being condemn'd by the † *Pedian Law*, tho' he was innocent, among the Accomplices of *Cæsar's* Murder, he went over to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were his near Relations ; and after both their Deaths held the Command of the Fleet intrusted to him a long Time. and increas'd the Number of the Ships : Nor did he resign it till his Party was ruin'd in all Parts, and then he surrender'd it to *M. Anthony*, which was esteem'd as a Piece of extraordinary Merit. Of all those who were condemn'd by the same Law, he alone was restor'd to his Country and ran thro' the highest Honours. And when the Civil Dissentions were reviv'd, being Lieutenant to *Anthony*, and by reason of a sudden Indisposition, neither daring to accept, nor boldly refuse the Sovereign Command which was offer'd him by those who

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-† *Pompey's Party, who were Enemies to Cæsar.*

† Made by *Q. Pedius, the Consul.* He was C. heir with *Augustus* in *Julius Cæsar's Will.* See p. 52.



who were \* *asham'd* of *Cleopatra*, he went over to *Augustus*, and dy'd in a few Days, not without some Aspersions cast upon his Reputation. For *Anthony* gave out, that he deserted him out of Love to his Mistress *Servilia Nais*.

4. This was the Father of *Domitius*, who was afterwards commonly known to be the † Purchaser of the Inheritance in *Augustus's* Testament. He was no less fam'd in his Youth for the Art of driving a Chariot, than afterwards for the Triumphal Ornaments which he obtain'd in the *German War*. But being arrogant, profuse, and savage, when he was only *Ædile* he oblig'd the × Censor, *L. Plancus*, to give him the Way; and when he was Pretor and Consul, he brought *Roman* Knights and Matrons upon the Stage to play the ‡ *Mimus*; and gave Huntings of Wild Beasts, both in the || *Circus* and in all the Quarters of the City. He also exhibited a Gladiatory Combat; but with so much Cruelty, that *Augustus* having to no purpose reprov'd him privately, found it necessary to restrain him by an Edict.

5. By

\* The Roman Troops which were with *Anthony* in *Ægypt*, were so provok'd at his effeminate and dishonourable Manner of living with *Cleopatra*, that they wou'd have left him, if they cou'd have found a proper Person to make their General.

† It was a Form with the Romans, in disposing of an Estate by Will, for some Person to make an imaginary Purchase of the Estate before Witnesses; by which the Testator seem'd to transfer the Right of it from himself to those whom he appointed his Heirs, as upon a valuable Consideration. The Purchaser, 'tis likely, was understood to represent the Heirs.

× The Censor was a superior Officer to the *Ædile*

‡ This was such a Diminution of their Honour, that they lost their Quality by it. See p. 23.

|| This was an Instance of his Prodigality, as his Cruelty appears by the next.

5. By *Antonia* the Elder, he had *Nero's* Father, who was detestable in every Part of his Life. For accompanying *C. Cæsar*, who was then a Youth, into the East, he murder'd his Freedman, because he refus'd to drink as much as he commanded him; and being for this turn'd out of the Conversation of his Friends, he still liv'd as wild as before. For in a Village upon the *Appian Way*, he wittingly drove his Chariot over a Boy and kill'd him; and at *Rome*, he dash'd out the Eye of a *Roman Knight*, who reprimanded him something freely, in the middle of the *Forum*. He was so perfidious also, that he not only defrauded the Brokers of the Prices of Things which he bought of them, but in his Pretorship he even cheated the Charioteers of the Reward of the Palms. But his Sister rallying him about it, upon the Complaints of the Masters of the Factions, he ordain'd, that for the future the Prizes shou'd be deliver'd upon the Spot. Being convicted of Treason and Adulteries, and of Incest with his Sister *Lepida*, at the End of *Tiberius's* Reign, he escap'd by the Change of the Times, and dy'd of a Dropsy at \* *Pyrgi*, leaving behind him his Son *Nero*, by *Agrippina* the Daughter of *Germanicus*.

6. *Nero* was born at *Antium* nine Months after *Tiberius's* Death, on the † eighteenth of the Kalends of *January*, so exactly at the Rising of the Sun, that the Beams of it in a manner fell upon Him, before they touch'd the Earth. A Variety of Conjectures were immediately made about his Nativity, and terrible Things foretold; and a Saying of his Father *Domitius* was also very ominous, who amid the Congratulations of his Friends, affirm'd, *It was impossible any thing cou'd be born of him and Agrippina, but what was abominable and a Publick Evil*. There happen'd also an evident Token of his Future Calamities upon his  
‡ *Lustra-*

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\* *A Town of Italy, now St. Maria di Purgano.*

† *December the 14th.*

† Lustration-Day. For *Cæsar* being desir'd by his Sister to give the Child what Name he pleas'd, look'd full upon his Uncle *Claudius*, by whom *Nero* was afterwards adopted, and said he gave him his Name. He design'd no more in it himself than a Jest; but *Agrippina* was extremely provok'd at it: for *Claudius* was then the common Ridicule of the Court. He lost his Father when he was three Years old, who left him Heir only of a third Part: Nor did he receive that intirely; for the Goods were seiz'd by his Coheir *Caius*, and his Mother shortly after banish'd; and being in a manner indigent and naked, he was brought up with his Aunt *Lepida* under two Pedagogues, a Dancing-Master and a Barber. But when *Claudius* came to be Emperor, he not only recover'd his Paternal Inheritance, but had his Fortune augmented also by the Estate of his Father-in-Law *Crispus Passienus*. His Mother being recall'd from Exile, he bore such a Sway by her Favour and Interest, that it was reported *Meffallina* sent some to strangle him when he was taking a Nap at Noon, as the Rival of her Son *Britannicus*. The Story went also, that the Ruffians ran away, being frighten'd by a Dragon which issu'd out from beneath his Head. The Fable arose from a Serpent's Slough being found near his Pillow. At the Request of his Mother, he wore this for some Time upon his Right Arm in a Golden Bracelet, and at last threw it aside in Aversion to her Memory; and when he was in his Extremities, vainly sought to recover it.

7. While he was scarcely past the Age of a Boy, he constantly perform'd the *Trojan Exercise*, and with great Applause. In his eleventh Year he was adopted by *Claudius*, and was deliver'd for his Education to *Annæus Seneca*, who was then a Senator. They

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† Upon this Day, which was the ninth from the Birth with Boys, and the eighth with Girls, they nam'd the Child, and perform'd certain Religious Ceremonies for its future Welfare.



They say, *Seneca* dream'd the next Night, that he was Preceptor to \* *C. Cæsar* ; and *Nero* in a short Time fulfill'd the † Dream, discovering the Barbarity of his Temper upon all possible Occasions For he endeavour'd to persuade his Father that his Brother *Britannicus* was spurious, because after his Adoption *Britannicus* had saluted him by the Name of †† *Ænobarbus* as he us'd to do. He also ruin'd his Aunt *Lepida*, by the Evidence he gave against her in open Court, in order to gratify his || Mother, who destroy'd her after she was condemn'd. When he was introduc'd into the *Forum*, he gave a Congiary to the People and a Donative to the Soldiers ; and ordering the Pretorian Cohorts to make a Publick March, he bore the ‡ Target before them, and led them himself, and then went and paid his § Acknowledgments to his Father in the Senate : And when his Father was Consul, he pleaded before him in *Latin* for the People of *Bononia*, and for the *Rhodians* and *Ilians* in *Greek*. He began his Office of X Prefect of the City in the *Latin* Holidays. The most celebrated Pleaders brought before him Causes not trifling, as the Custom was, and short, but important

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\* Caligula.

† Which signify'd that *Nero*, to whom *Seneca* was Tutor, wou'd prove such another Monster as *Caligula* had been.

†† This being the Name *Nero* went by before his Adoption, he was affronted at *Britannicus's* giving him it now, because it look'd like denying the Adoption.

|| *Agrippina* hated *Lepida*, because she was of a nobler Family. Perhaps she got her condemn'd now for her Incest with her Brother, *Nero's* Father. Pag. 351.

‡ The usual Ensign of the Officer who headed the Procession.

§ For the Honour he had done him in letting him lead the Procession.

X See the Note, p. 310.

portant and very perplex'd, tho' this was expressly forbidden by *Claudius*. Not long after he marry'd *Octavia*; and ordain'd *Circensian* Games and a Hunting of Wild Beasts, for *Claudius's* Health.

8. He was now seventeen Years old, and as soon as *Claudius's* Death was made known, he went forth to the Guards between the \* sixth and seventh Hour, not daring to do it sooner, because of the unlucky Omens which appear'd all the rest of the Day. Being saluted Emperor before the Steps of the Palace, and carry'd to the Camp in a Litter, he harangu'd the Soldiers in a Hurry, and came back to the Senate, and staid there till the Evening. Of the innumerable Honours which were heap'd upon him, he only refus'd the Style of *PATER PATRIÆ*, *Father of his Country*, by reason of his Youth.

9. He began with an Ostention of his Filial Affection, celebrating *Claudius's* Funerals with great Solemnity, praising him in an Oration, and consecrating him among the Gods. He paid the highest Honours to the Memory of his Father *Domitius*, and permitted his Mother to have the chief Administration of all Affairs Publick and Private. Thus on the first Day of his Reign, the Word he gave to the Tribune of the Guard was, *Optima Mater, The best Mother*; and he was afterwards frequently carry'd thro' the Streets with her in her Litter. He sent forth a Colony to *Antium*, making a Draught for that Service out of Veteran Soldiers, and causing even the most wealthy of the *Principilares* to remove thither, where he also form'd a very noble Harbour.

10. And to give yet a more certain Demonstration of his Intentions, he declar'd, that *He design'd to govern according to the Model laid down by Augustus*: Nor did he omit any Occasion which was offer'd for exercising his Liberality, or Clemency, or Courtesy. He either abolish'd the heavier Taxes, or lessen'd and reduc'd

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\* Between 12 and 1 at Noon.

reduc'd the Rewards which were appointed for the Delators by the *Papian* Law, to a \* fourth Part. He distributed four hundred Sesterces a Man to the People; and on every one of the noblest of the Senators, who was in necessitous Circumstances, he settled an annual Salary, and upon some † five hundred Sesterces a Year; and to the Pretorian Cohorts he gave a Quantity of Corn every Month *gratis*. When the Warrant for executing any Criminal was brought to him to subscribe it, according to Custom, *How do I wish*, wou'd he say, *that I cou'd neither read nor write!* He wou'd salute all the Orders by Name without a Prompter. The Senate returning him Thanks once, he answer'd, *Pray do this, when I shall have deserv'd it.* He admitted even the Common People to his Field-Exercises, and often declaim'd in Publick. He recited Poems not only at Home, but also in the Theatre, with such universal Applause, that a †† Supplication was decreed for the Rehearsal, and Part of the Poem was dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* in Letters of Gold.

II. He exhibited many and various Kinds of Shews; as the *Juvenile*, *Circensian* and Theatrical Games, and the Gladiatory Combats. He admitted antient Consular Men, and old Matrons, to perform in the *Juvenile* Sports; and allotted a Seat for the Knights at the X *Circensian* Games separate from the rest

\* By the *Papian* Law a Delator (or Informer) had a fourth Part of the Estate of any one whom he accus'd. Nero now reduc'd this to one Quarter of that Share, which was a sixteenth Part of the Whole.

† The greater Sesterce, 500 of which make 12500 Crowns.

†† A Day of rejoicing, and solemn Thanksgiving to the Gods.

X Tho' the Knights had a particular Apartment appointed for them in the Theatre by the *Roscian* Law, yet in the Circus they sat promiscuously, till Nero made this Regulation.



rest of the Company ; and had Race-Chariots drawn by four Camels apiece. In the Games, which because they were undertaken for the perpetual Duration of the Empire, he caus'd to be nam'd *Maximi, The Principal Games* ; the ludicrous Parts were perform'd by Persons of both † Orders and Sexes. A celebrated *Roman* mounted an Elephant in the Theatre, and rode him along upon a Rope. And a Play of *Afranius's*, written after the *Roman* Manner, call'd the *Incendium, The Burning*, was introduc'd on the Stage ; in which the Actors were allow'd to carry away the Goods of the X House which was on fire, and keep them. Largeſſes of all ſorts of Things were thrown among the People every Day, a Thousand of each ſort to a Share ; as Variety of Birds of every Kind, Tickets for Doles of Corn, Garments, Gold, Silver, Gemms, Pearls, Pictures, Slaves, Cattel, and Wild Beaſts bred to hand, laſtly Ships, Houſes and Lands.

12. He beheld theſe Games from a Seat rais'd juſt in the Front of the Stage : And at the Gladiatory Combat he preſented in the Wooden Theatre, which he erected in the Region of the *Campus Martius* within the Compaſs of a Year, he ſuffer'd no Champion to be kill'd, not even of thoſe who were condemn'd to that Life as Criminals by the Law. He alſo engag'd forty Senators and ſixty *Roman* Knights to ſkirmiſh in Publick ; and ſome of both Orders, who had great Eſtates and were of an unblemish'd Reputation, to encounter the Wild Beaſts, and perform ſeveral other Services on the Stage. He had a Sea-Fight repreſented upon Salt Water, with the  
Sea-

† Of the Senators and Knights.

X One of the Scenes was a Houſe on fire, with the Players all in Confuſion, endeavouring to ſave the Goods. The Furniture which was thus brought out, Nero gave them leave to keep. By the Title of the Play, this ſeems to be the principal Scene.



*The Pyrrich Dance.* .H. 1<sup>st</sup> Guched.  
p. 357.

Sea-Monsters swimming about in it. He caus'd a Number of Striplings to dance the *Pyrric* Dance, and afterwards gave them Patents for the Freedom of the City. At the Time of the Dance, the Story of *Pasiphae* was so naturally represented, that most of the Spectators thought it real; and an *Icarus* at his first springing to his Flight falling down just at his Seat, the Blood sparkled upon him; For he seldom took the President's Place at the Shews, but generally beheld them lying on a Couch, and looking thro' the Curtains drawn pretty close, tho' sometimes they were thrown quite open. He first of all instituted Quinquennial Games at *Rome*, consisting, after the *Grecian* Manner, of three Kinds, Musick, Wrestling and Horse-racing, and call'd them *Neroniana*, *Neronian Games*: And at the opening of a \* Bath and a *Gymnasium*, he supply'd the Senate and the Knights with Oyl at his own Expence. He appointed Consular Magistrates by Lot to preside at these † Games, who were to sit in the Pretor's Seat. Going afterwards into the *Orchestra* among the Senators, and the Crown for the Prize in *Latin* Prose and Verse, for which the most honourable Persons contended, being adjudg'd to him by the Consent of the Disputants themselves, he accepted it; and the Musical Crown being awarded him as Victor by the Judges, he worshipp'd it, and order'd it to be carry'd to *Augustus's* Statue. At the Gymnastic Exercises, which he exhibited in the *Septa*, as the Preparations for the solemn Sacrifice were making, he shav'd his Beard the first Time, and inclosing it in a Golden Box set with very rich Diamonds, dedicated it to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He invited even the Vestal

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\* *Thermæ*, A hot Bath. The *Gymnasium* was a Place for robust Exercises, as Wrestling, Coiting, &c. In both Places they us'd Oyl.

† The *Neronian*.



Vestal Virgins to see the \* Wrestlers, because at *Olympia* the Priestesses of *Ceres* were permitted to behold them.

13. Among the Shews which he made, the Entry of *Tiridates* may not be improperly mention'd. He was King of *Armenia*, and *Nero* having invited him to *Rome* with extraordinary Promises, the Day he had appointed for his Publick Entry happen'd to be wet, upon which he delay'd it to the next which shou'd prove favourable. At the Time, Cohorts arm'd were plac'd round the Temples in the *Forum*, and himself was seated in a Curule Chair at the *Rostra*, cloath'd in a Triumphant Habit, amidst the Military Ensigns and Banners. *Tiridates* approaching him with Reverence, he first receiv'd him kneeling, and raising him up kiss'd him, and took off his † *Tiara* as he was making his Complements to him, and put a Diadem on his Head; a Pretorian Man × interpreting what the King said, and repeating it aloud to the People. From thence conducting him into the Theatre, and having again receiv'd his Addresses, he plac'd him by his Side on his right Hand. Being for this saluted || *Emperor*, he carry'd his ‡ *Laurel* to the *Capitol*,

\* They perform'd naked, and therefore it was thought immodest for Women to be present. Augustus expressly forbid it, p. 98.

† The *Tiara* was the common Habit of the Head with the Persians and other Eastern Nations, as the Turbant is now. *Nero* took it off, and put on a Regal Diadem in the stead of it, to shew he restor'd *Tiridates* to his Kingdom.

× As the whole Design of this Entry of *Tiridates* was to please *Nero's* Vanity, and magnify him in the Eyes of the People, it was necessary the Speech, which contain'd an humble Submission of himself and his Dominions to *Nero* shou'd be explain'd to them.

|| *Imperator* was not only the standing Title of the Emperors of *Rome*, but was also a Style of Military Honour

*pitol*, and shut the Temple of *Janus*, there being not so much as the Relicks of a War then remaining.

14. He bore four Consulships. The first two Months, the second and the last six, and the third four. The second and third he assum'd successively, the other two at the Distance of some Years.

15. When he sat in Judgment, he seldom return'd an Answer to the Advocates before the next Day, and then in Writing. In hearing Causes, he made it his Custom to finish them with all Expedition, dispatching them indifferently in their Turn. As often as he withdrew to consider upon any Case, he never communicated it to the Judges, or deliberated with them ; but their Opinion being deliver'd him in Writing, he read it over in private, and then pronounc'd according to his own Thoughts, just as if they had agreed in the same Decision. He wou'd not for a long time admit the Sons of Freemen into the Senate, and deny'd to confer Honours on those who had been admitted by former Princes. To make them easy under the Delay of Advancement, he promoted the \* supernumerary Candidates to some Command in the Legions. He generally gave the Consulship for six Months. And one of the Consuls dying about the Kalends of *January*, he did not substitute another in his stead, disliking the Instance of † *Caninius Rebilus* formerly, who was Consul for one Day. He bestow'd the Triumphal Ornaments on Persons of the Questorian Dignity, and even upon some of the Equestrian Order, tho' they had perform'd no Military Service to merit them. The  
Accounts

*nour*, given to them or to the General upon some extraordinary Conquest: Accordingly it is bestow'd here upon Nero for his Victory over *Tiridates*.

\* In token of Triumph.

\* The Candidates who stood for any Office, and lost their Election.

† See Page 45.

Accounts which he sent the Senate of certain Affairs, he commonly caus'd the Consul to read to the House, passing by the Questor, to whose Office it belong'd.

16. He projected a new Form for the Buildings in the City; and contriv'd that before the † *Insulæ* and the Houses there shou'd be Porticoes, from the Battlements of which they might be able to work in Case of a Fire; and these he built at his own Expence. He design'd also to extend the Walls of the City as far as *Ostia*, and to let in the Sea from thence into the old City by a Trench. In his Reign, several Things were corrected, and others restrain'd with extraordinary Strictness; and several new Institutions were made: Limits were set to Expences; Publick Suppers were reduc'd to a \* *Sportula*; and Victualing-Houses were prohibited selling any thing boil'd beside Pulse and Pot-herbs, whereas before they sold all Kinds of Eatables. The *Christians* were punish'd severely, a Sort of Men who follow'd a new and malignant Superstition. The Rogueries of the Charioteers were also forbidden, with whom it was an old Custom to stroll about every where, and cheat and thieve at Discretion, just as if they were only in Jest; and the Pantomimes and their Factions were banish'd.

17. Against the †† *Falsarii* this Device was then invented, that no Deeds shou'd be seal'd till they were

† A Space of Ground between House and House; for Houses in Rome were not contiguous. This Spot of void Ground the Romans call'd *Insula*, an Island.

\* A small Wicker Basket, in which a Quantity of Victuals was put and presented to any; and from the Name of the Basket, the giving such a kind of a Treat was call'd a *Sportula*. It was more sparing and temperate than the Publick Suppers, which were very luxurious, and therefore Nero substituted this in their Room.

†† Those who forg'd or counterfeited Writings.



were punch'd thro', and a String pass'd thrice thro' the Hole to receive the seal. And as to Testaments, it was provided, that the first two Leaves shou'd be left blank till the Witnesses had \* subscrib'd their Names; and that no one who wrote a Testament for another, shou'd insert a Legacy in it for himself. It was appointed also, that Clients shou'd pay certain reasonable Fees to their Advocates, and that the † Seats in the Court shou'd cost them nothing, but the Expence of them shou'd be allow'd out of the Treasury: That Causes shou'd be remov'd from the Treasury into the *Forum* before the || *Recoverers*; and that all Appeals from the Judges shou'd be brought into the Senate.

18. Having no Intention nor Desire to enlarge or extend the Empire, he began to think of withdrawing the Armies from *Britain*; forbearing it only out of Shame, lest it shou'd look as if he had a mind to detract from his Father's Glory. But he reduc'd into the Form of a Province the Kingdom of *Pontus*, which was yielded to him by *Polemon*, and that of the *Alps* upon the Death of X *Cottius*.

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19. He

\* At the Head of those void Leaves the Testator wrote his Name, to acknowledge that the following Testament was his Will; but the Particulars were not express'd till after the Witnesses had subscrib'd, that they might not know who was made Heir, or what Legacies were given. Nero appointed this Method perhaps, from an Opinion that the Witnesses being thus kept entirely ignorant of the Contents of the Will, cou'd have nothing to direct them if they shou'd undertake to forge one, nor be induc'd by Aversion or Favour to any one nam'd in it, to disown their Signing upon any Dispute.

† Lat. *Subsellia*. Casaubon thinks they were Scaffoldings erected on purpose for trying some particular Causes.

|| Befor. whom any one whose Estate was confiscated, shou'd to recover it.

X See Page 204.

19. He undertook only two Progresses, one to *Alexandria* and one to *Achaia*; but he put off that to *Alexandria* upon the very Day he was to have set forward, being disturb'd by some Religious Omens, and affrighten'd at the Danger of it. For sitting down in the Fane of *Vesta* after he had visited the Temples round, as he went to rise up, the Skirts of his Garments stuck fast to the Seat, and a Dimness came across him, which took away his Sight. When he was in *Achaia*, he undertook to cut thro' the *Isthmus*, and made a Speech to the Pretorian Soldiers to encourage them in the Work; and the Trumpet giving the Signal to begin, he first broke Ground himself with a Pick-Ax, and filling a Basket with Earth, carry'd it away upon his Shoulders. He prepar'd an Expedition to the *Caspian* Streights, raising a new Legion of *Italian* Youths six Foot high, which he call'd the *Phalanx* of *Alexander the Great*. These Actions, some of which are not bad, and some deserve to be very much commended; I have thus related at once, to separate them from the infamous and vile Parts of his Life, of which I shall now speak.

20. Among other Sorts of Learning, (being instructed in Musick in his Youth) as soon as he obtain'd the Empire, he sent for *Terpnus* the Harper, who was the most celebrated of his Time, and sat by him for several Days together after Supper till late at Night, to hear him play, and by degrees began to study and practise after him. Nor did he omit any of the Methods which were us'd by Artists of that Sort for preserving or improving the Voice: He lay along with a Plate of Lead upon his Breast, and purg'd by Clusters and Vomiting, and abstain'd from Apples and Meats which were prejudicial to his Singing; till flattering himself at length that he had made a wonderful Proficiency (tho' his Voice was shrill and hoarse) he was ambitious of appearing upon the Stage, boasting among his familiar Friends, according to the *Grecian* Proverb, *That conceal'd Harmony*

mony was never valu'd. He made his Publick Appearance first at *Naples*; and tho' the Theatre was shaken with a sudden Earthquake, yet he did not give over Singing, till he had finish'd the Tune he began. He also sung there very often and for several Days together, only making a short Pause sometimes to recover his Voice; and he was so impatient of being off the Stage, that he wou'd go directly from the Bath to the Theatre. As he was eating once in the midst of the Orchestra, with the People all flocking about him, he call'd out and told them in Greek, \* *That a merry Glass wou'd enable him to trot it off the better.* Being extremely taken with the Songs some Alexandrians, who were newly arriv'd at *Naples*, sung in his Praise, he sent to *Alexandria* for more of the Natives. And chose some young Men of the Equestrian Order, and above five thousand study Youths out of the Common People, who were divided into Factions, to learn the several Kinds of Applause, call'd the † *Bombi*, \* *Imbrices*, and †† *Tiste*, and whose Business was continually to attend him when he sung. The Lads had very large Heads of Hair, and were richly dress'd, and wore Rings on the left Hand; and the Principals of them were allow'd || four hundred thousand Sesterces.

21. Esteeming it one of the noblest Things in the World to sing, he reviv'd the *Neronian Games* before the appointed Day; and the People all crying out to hear his heavenly Voice, he answer'd, He wou'd gratify them, if they were desirous of it, in the Gardens: But the Guards, who were then upon Duty, seconding  
R 2 the

\* He imagin'd they were afraid his Drinking would injure his Voice, and therefore told them this to quiet them.

† A Sound like the Humming of Bees.

\* A Noise resembling the Fall of Rain.

†† A Sound like the Ringing of earthen Pots struck against one another.

|| 1750 Livres.



the Importunities of the People, he graciously promis'd them to sing without Delay, and immediately order'd his Name to be writ down among the profess'd Musicians ; and putting his \* Lot with them into the common Urn, he enter'd in his turn, the Prefects of the Pretorian Cohorts carrying his Harp, and accompany'd by the Military Tribunes and his intimate Friends. As soon as he had taken his Stand upon the Stage, and the Prelude was over, he proclaim'd by *Cluvius Rufus* a Consular Man, that he wou'd sing the Story of *Niobe*, and held it out till the † tenth Hour. The Honour of receiving the Crown, and the rest of the Shew he put off to the next Year, that he might thereby have frequent Occasions to sing ; but thinking this too long, he cou'd not forbear appearing in Publick several times before. Nor did he scruple to bear a Part among the Players in †† Private Games, and to accept the Present of a — Million of Sesterces from one of the Pretors for his Art. He also sung Tragedies in a Mask ; the Vizors of the Heroes and Gods, and of the Heroines and Goddeses, being fram'd to resemble his own Features and those of any Women for whom he had an Affection. Among other Things, he sung *Canace in Labour*, *Orestes killing his Mother*, *Oedipus with his Eyes out*, and *Hercules run mad*. As he was playing the last, 'tis said, a young Soldier who was plac'd to keep the Entrance of the Stage, seeing him dress'd up and bound with Chains as the Argument of the Play requir'd, ran hastily in to his Rescue.

22. He was a passionate Admirer of Horses even from his Childhood ; and was continually talking of the *Circensian Games*, tho' he was forbidden to do it.

Lamenting

\* To avoid Contention about Preference, they drew Lots for the Order of going upon the Stage.

† Four in the Afternoon.

†† Games not exhibited by the Emperor.

— 43750 Livres.



MAPPA MISSA.

*M. P. Gucke Sulp.*

*p. 365*



Lamenting once among his Companions the Misfortune of a Driver of the Green Faction, who was dragg'd by his Horses, and his Preceptor chiding him for it, he pretended he was speaking of \* *Hector*. At the Beginning of his Reign he had a Chariot and a Set of Horses made in Ivory, which he us'd to play with upon a Table: But upon the smallest Racing in the *Circus*, he ran thither from any Recess where he happen'd to be; at first privately, and afterwards without Reserve; that at last every one expected him, and made no Question of his coming. Nor did he dissemble that he design'd to encrease the Number of the Prizes; and thus the Courses being multiply'd, the Games lasted till it was late; and the Masters of the Factions wou'd not vouchsafe to bring out their Horses, unless they were sure to run them the whole Day. Afterwards he often took a Fancy to drive and make Part of the Shew himself; and having practis'd in his Gardens among the Slaves and the lowest of the People, he made his Appearance in the great *Circus* in the Publick View of all Men, a certain Freedman || giving the Signal from the Place where the Magistrates us'd to sit. Not being content with shewing Proofs of his Skill in these Arts at *Rome*, he went, as we observ'd, to *Achaia*, which he did chiefly from this Motive: The Cities, where Musical Games us'd to be celebrated, having resolv'd to send all the Musick-Prizes to him, he took it so extremely kind, that he not only immediately admitted the Messengers who brought them into his Presence, but treated them also at his familiar Banquets; and some of them begging he wou'd please to favour them with a Song at Supper, and making him

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\* *Achilles ty'd Hector to his Chariot, after he had kill'd him, and dragg'd him round the Walls of Troy.*

|| *Mittente Mappam. The Signal was, a Handkerchief thrown out at Length by the President of the Shews. See the Plate.*



a World of Compliments, he said, *the Greeks alone were Judges of Musick, and were worthy of him and his Art*; and immediately beginning his intended Journey, as soon as he came to † *Cassiope*, he gave them a Specimen of his Harmony at the Altar of *Jupiter Cassius*.

23. After this, he perform'd in all the Exercises: For those which belong'd to different Seasons, he commended to be brought into the Compass of one Year, and some of them to be repeated, and had a Musick-Prize at *Olympia*, contrary to Custom. And that nothing might give him a Diversion, or detain him while he was thus employ'd, whenever his Freedman *Hyllus* acquainted him that his Presence was necessary to the Affairs of the City, he wrote him back Word, *Tho' it is thy Advice and Desire that I would quickly return; yet thou oughtest rather to advise and wish that I may return worthy of Nero*. While he was singing, it was not lawful for any one to go out of the Theatre upon any necessary Occasion; inso-much that 'tis said several Women fell in Travail and were deliver'd at the Shews, and many being quite tir'd with giving their Attendance there to hear and clap him, either leap'd privately over the Wall, the Gates of the Town being kept shut, or pretending to be dead, were carry'd out as to their Funeral. It is scarcely credible what Fear and Anxiety, what Emulation of his Competitors, and Awe of the Judges he express'd while he was performing. He paid the highest Deference to his Antagonists, as if they had been equal in Quality to himself; made his Court to them openly, but rail'd at them in secret, and sometimes curs'd them when he met them; and even brib'd them, if they were excellent in their Art, to play booty and let him carry the Prize. Before he began, he address'd himself to the Judges with

\* To Achaia.

† A Town of Corcyra, now St. Maria di Cassiope.

with the profoundest Reverence, saying, *he had done every Thing that belong'd to him to do, yet after all the Event was in the Hands of Fortune ; but that as wise and Learned Men they ought in pronouncing Judgment to exclude all Things that were fortuitous : And upon their encouraging him to take Heart and not fear, he withdrew more easy in his Spirit ; yet even then if any of them were silent, or spoke faintly, he was in a Concern, and constru'd it as a Sign of Sourness and Ill-will, and own'd that he suspected them.*

24. At the Time of performing he observ'd the Laws of the Theatrical so strictly, that he never dar'd to spit or to wipe off the Sweat from his Forehead but with his Arm. As he was playing once in a Tragedy, he let his Staff fall out of his Hand ; and tho' he recover'd it immediately, he was in such a wonderful Consternation and Terror, lest he should be hiss'd off the Stage, that he cou'd not compose himself till one of the Players swore, it was not taken Notice of amid the Noise and Shoutings of the People. He us'd also to proclaim himself Victor himself, and even strove to outdo the Crier in his Art. And that no Memory nor Footsteps of any other Victors in the X Sacred Games might be left, he commanded all their Statues and Images to be thrown down, and dragg'd with the Hook, and cast into the Jakes. He drove the Chariot at the Races in † various Manners, and once at the Olympic Games with ten Pairs of Horses ; tho' in a \* Poem of his

R 4 writing,

X *The four Games of Greece : The Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean.*

† *With more or fewer Horses than were usual, &c.*

\* *This excellent Piece is unhappily perish'd ; but by some Verses of Nero's, which Persius has inserted in his first Satire as a Specimen of Bombast and Nonsense, it appears he was just as good a Poet as he was a Singer :*

Claudere

writing, he had blam'd *Mithridates* for the same Thing. But being thrown out of the Chariot, and then replac'd, and yet not †† able to hold on, he gave off before he had finish'd the Course. Notwithstanding which, he was crown'd. At his Departure, he gave the whole Province their Liberty, and made the Judges free of Rome, and presented them with a great Summ of Money: All which Favours he proclaim'd himself in the Middle of the *Stadium* upon the Day of the *Isthmian* Games.

25. At

Claudere sic Versum didicit, Berecynthius Attin  
Et qui cœruleum dirimebat Nerea delphin,  
Sic costam longo subdiximus Apennino.

'Tis tagg'd with Rhyme, like Berecynthian Attys,  
The mid Part chimes with Art, which never flat is.  
The Dolphin brave, that cut the liquid Wave,  
Or He who in his Line can chine the long-ribb'd Apen-  
nine. Mr. Dryden.

Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis,  
Et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo  
Bassaris, & lyncem Mænas flexura corymbis  
Evion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat Echo.

Their crooked Horns the Mimallonian Crew  
With Blasts inspir'd; and Bassaris, who slew  
The scornful Galf, with Sword advanc'd on high,  
Made from his Neck his haughty Head to fly.  
And Mænas, when with Ivy-Bridles bound,  
She led the spotted Lynx, then Evion rung around;  
Evion from Woods and Floods repairing Echo's Sound. }  
Mr. Dryden.

†† Because he cou'd not govern such a Number of Horses;  
and the Form of the Race-Chariot made it difficult for the  
Driver, whose Posture was standing, to avoid being thrown  
out, if the Horses were unruly.



25. At his Return to *Naples* from *Greece*, he made his Entry drawn by white Horses, because in that † City he had given the first Specimen of his Art, Part of the Wall being thrown down, according to the \* Custom of the Sacred Games. He enter'd *Antium*, and *Alba* and *Rome* in the same Manner. But his Entry into *Rome* he made in the same Chariot in which *Augustus* had triumph'd, dress'd with a Purple Vest, and a Cymar embroider'd with Stars of Gold, wearing the *Olympic* Crown on his Head, and carrying the *Pythian* in his Right Hand, the others being borne before him in Pomp, with Inscriptions expressing *What Persons, at what Places, and in what Songs or what Plays he had conquer'd*; a Multitude following him with Applauses and shouting out that *they were Augustians, and the Soldiers of his Triumph*; and making a Breach in the circular End of the great *Circus*; he pass'd thro' the *Velabrum* and *Forum* to the Palace and the Temple of *Apollo*: Victims were slain every where as he pass'd along, and Saffron was scatter'd upon him, and Birds, and Garlands and Sweetmeats. He plac'd the Sacred Crowns in his Chamber round about his Beds, with Statues of himself in the Habit of a Harper, and stamp'd the same upon his Coin. Even after this, he was so far from remitting his Musical Exercises, that for the sake of preserving his Voice, he never spoke a Speech himself to the Soldiers, but always had it pronounc'd by another; nor did he transact any Thing seriously or in Jest, but with a Master of Pronunciation at his Elbow, who was to put him in Mind to spare his Lungs, and even thrust a Handkerchief into his Mouth to stop him if he did not regard. And to a great many he offer'd his Friendship, or vow'd an implacable Hatred

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† *Naples*, see p. 363.

\* To signify, that a Town which had such brave Men for its Inhabitants, needed no other Fortifications to secure it.

red to them, according as they had been liberal or sparing in their Commendations of him.

26. His Perulance, his Lust, his Luxury, Avarice and Cruelty he exercis'd moderately at first, and in private, as if they had only been the Sallies of Youth: Yet that any one might be satisfy'd even then that they were the Vices of his Nature and not of his Age; as soon as it was duskish, he clap'd on a Cap or a Helmet, and scour'd away to the Publick Houses, and rambled about the Streets, playing a thousand mischievous Pranks; for he wou'd thresh any whom he met going home from Supper, and wound them if they resisted, and tumbled them into the Jakes. He wou'd break up the small Shops and plunder them, opening a Sale-Room in his own House, where he divided and sold his Booty. In these Skirmishes he often ran the Hazard of having his Eyes beat out, and of losing his Life: For a certain Senator, whose Wife he wou'd have forc'd from him, mau'd him almost to Death. After this he never ventur'd abroad at such Hours without the Tribunes following secretly at a distance. In the Day being convey'd to the Theatre privately in a common Chair, he wou'd get into a Gallery behind the Scenes, and set the *Pantomimes* together by the Ears, while he sat and look'd on: And when they came to Blows, and were pelting one another with Stones and Pieces of the Seats, he wou'd also let fly among the People; and once he broke the Pretor's Head.

27. At length increasing in his Enormities, he laid by his Frolicks and Mischief in Sport; and throwing off all Disguise, broke out openly into the vilest Extravagances, without the least Concern to have them conceal'd. He continu'd his Feasts from Mid-day to Mid-night; often bathing in Ponds of warm Water, and in the Summer-time the Water was cool'd with Snow. Sometimes he sup'd in Publick, in the Place where the Sea-Fights were represented, in the *Campus Martius*, or the greatest *Circus*,  
attended

attended with all the Strumpets of the whole City, and a Croud of foreign \* Prostitutes with their Musick. As often as he sail'd down the *Tiber* to *Ostia*, or coasted the *Baian* Bay, there was a Number of Booths erected along the Banks, before which stood the Whores and imitated Hostesses, calling out to him, and asking him to land. It was a Practice with him also to invite himself to Supper with his familiar Friends ; one of whom it cost † forty hundred thousand Sesterces in Sweet-Meats, and another more in Perfum'd Water.

28. Besides his Debauching of Boys who were Freemens Sons, and his corrupting marry'd Women, he violated the Vestal Virgin *Rubria* ; and was just on the Point of marrying *Acte*, an enfranchis'd Slave, having suborn'd some Consular Men to swear she was descended of a Royal Line. He castrated *Sporus*, a Boy, and endeavour'd to transform him wholly into a Woman, taking him to Wife with the Rites of the Dowry and the Vail, and all the Solemnities of a formal Wedding: Upon which some body made a  
very

\* *Ambubaie* : According to *Casaubon*, they were Syrian Women, who earn'd their Living at Rome by prostituting themselves, and playing on the Syrian Harp. *Juvenal* says they came thither in Numbers, and found every great Encouragement there.

Jam pridem Syrus in Tyberim defluxit Oron-  
tes, &c. Sat. 3.

*Nor Greeks alone, but Syrians here abound ;  
Obscene Orontes diving under Ground,  
Conveys his Wealth to Tiber's hungry Shores,  
And fattens Italy with foreign Whores :  
Hither their crooked Harps and Customs come ;  
All find Receipt in hospitable Rome.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

† 100000 Crowns.



very pertinent Jest, *That it wou'd have been well for Mankind, if his Father Domitius had had such a Wife.* This *Sporus* he carry'd about with him in a Litter, thro' the Assemblies and trading Towns of Greece, and afterwards thro' the *Sigillarian* Street at Rome, dress'd in the \* Imperial Ornaments of the Empresses, kissing him as they rode along. That he had a strong Desire to have known his Mother, and was only deterr'd from it by some who had no Kindness for her, and who were afraid a Favour of this Kind shou'd render a Woman of her haughty and daring Temper too powerful, was never question'd by any: For he added to his Concubines a Strumpet, who was reported to be extremely like *Agrippina*; and as he was carry'd with her in the same Litter, 'tis said, incestuous Familiarities pass'd between them, as appear'd by their Garments.

29. His own Chastity he so prostituted, that having polluted almost all the Members of his Body, he at last invented a new sort of Impurity. He caus'd himself to be inclos'd in a Hide, and being let out of a Cage like a Wild Beast, he rush'd upon the Privy Parts of Men and Women ty'd to a Stake; and having slak'd his enormous Desire with this, he was, to conclude the Scene, defil'd himself by his Freedman *Doryphus*, who had marry'd him, as himself had before marry'd *Sporus*. I have been inform'd by several, that it was his fixt Opinion there was not a Person living who was chaste, or uncorrupted in any Part of his Body; only most of them dissembled their Vices, and were cunning enough to keep them private: And therefore if any confess'd Obscenities to him, he forgave them all the other Crimes they had committed.

30 He thought there was no other Use of Wealth and Money, but to waste them profusely; esteeming those

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\* *Augustarum Ornamenta.* See the Note on the Word *Augusta*, p. 252.

those to be sordid and niggardly who took an Account of their Expences, and such as squander'd them extravagantly to be truly noble and generous. He prais'd his Uncle *Caius*, and admir'd him for nothing more, than because he spent the vast \* Riches which *Tiberius* left him, in a very little Time. Wherefore he had no Bounds in his Prodigality. Upon *Tiridates* he expended † eight hundred thousand Sesterces a Day, a Summ almost incredible; and presented him with × above a Million at his Departure He gave *Mecrates* the Harper, and *Spicillus* the *Mirmillo*, the Patrimonies and Houses of Triumphal Men; and bestow'd a Royal Funeral almost upon *Cercopithecus Panerotes* the Usurer, who had a great Estate in the City and the Country. He never wore the same Garment twice. He play'd at Dice for ‡ four hundred thousand Sesterces a Cast. He fish'd with a Golden Net, his Lines being made of Purple and Scarlet. 'Tis said, he never travell'd with less than a thousand Waggon in his Train, the Mules being shod with Silver, and the Drivers clad in the finest Cloth; and with a Croud of Moors and running Slaves, furnish'd with Bracelets and Quivers.

31. He was in nothing more profuse than in Building. He extended an Apartment from the Palace quite to the *Esqueline* Mount, and call'd it at first the †† *Passage*; and when it was burnt down, he rebuilt it, and nam'd it the *Golden Lodging*. Concerning the Extent and Beauty of which, it will be sufficient to say only this; In the Court-Yard stood a *Colossus* of a hundred and twenty Foot high, representing himself. The Amplitude of it was so great, that it had Portico's with three Rows of Pillars, a Mile in Length;

\* See Page 283.

† 20000 Crowns.

× Above 2500000 Crowns.

‡ 10000 Crowns.

†† i. e. From the Palace to the *Esqueline* Mount.

Length ; and a Lake, like a Sea, encompass'd with Edifices in the manner of Cities. There were Fields also, and Vineyards, and Pastures, and Woods, with a Multitude of Cattel and Wild Beasts of every Sort. The Body of the Building was over-laid with Gold, and set with Jewels and Mother of Pearl ; and the Banquetting-Rooms were vaulted with a Roof of Ivory ; which was contriv'd so, as to be frequently shifted, and to throw out Roses upon the Guests, and from secret Pipes to distill Unguents upon them. The chief Banquetting-Room was round, and revolv'd continually Day and Night like the Motion of the Heavens. And the Baths were supply'd with Water from the Sea and from *Albula*. Yet when he dedicated such a Building as this after it was finish'd, he said nothing more in Commendation of it, than that *Now he shou'd begin to live like a Man*. He also began a Canal from *Misenum* to the *Avernian Lake*, and arch'd it over, and turn'd into it all the hot Streams of *Baia*. He open'd a Sluce from *Avernus* to *Ostia*, capable of receiving Ships of Burthen, a hundred and sixty Miles long, and so broad, that Vessels of five Oars might sail abreast. For the carrying on of these Works, he order'd that the Prisoners shou'd be brought from all the Jails into *Italy*, and that any Criminals who were condemn'd, shou'd be sentenc'd to labour here. Beside his Dependence on the Riches of the Empire, what push'd him into these prodigious Expences was, a sudden Imagination of recovering some immense Treasures which were conceal'd. For a certain Knight assur'd him, that all the Riches which Queen *Dido* carry'd away with her when she fled from *Tyre*, were hid in the vast Desarts of *Africk*, and might be very easily dug up.

32. But being disappointed in his Expectations, he was so exhausted and impoverish'd, that he was oblig'd to defer paying the Soldiers, and giving the Bounty-Money to the Veteranes ; and therefore apply'd himself to Oppression and Rapine. In the first  
Place



Place he ordain'd, that three Parts instead of an Half of every Freedman's Estate who dy'd, shou'd be levy'd for his Service, if without sufficient Reason they had borne the Name of Families related to himself: That the Testaments of such as were \* ungrateful to their Prince, shou'd be wholly forfeited to him; and the Lawyers who wrote or dictated them shou'd not go unpunish'd: And that all Facts and Words against which Information was given, shou'd be deem'd within the Law of Treason. He demanded also the Rewards of all the Crowns which had ever been offer'd him by the Cities at the Public Games. Having interdicted the Use of the *Amethyst* and of the *Tyrian* Colour, he covertly imploy'd one to sell a few Ounces of it upon the Day of the *Nundinae*, and took Occasion from thence to shut up all the Dealers Shops and seize the Goods. 'Tis believ'd, he pointed out to his † Officers a Matron whom he spy'd at the Shews in the middle of his Singing, cloth'd with Purple after he had forbidden it; for she was presently dragg'd out, and he not only stript her of her Garments, but depriv'd her also of her Estate. He never put any Man into an Office, but he told him, *You know what 'tis I want*; and, *Let us do our Endeavour that no one may have any thing left*. In a Word, he rifled a great many Temples of their Gifts, and melted down the Images which were made of Gold and Silver, and among them the Statues of the *Penates*, which *Galba* afterwards restor'd.

33. He began his Parricides and Murders with *Claudius*; of whose Death tho' he was not the Author, yet he was privy to it. And he made no Secret of it himself: For afterwards he commonly us'd

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\* By not leaving him a sufficient Legacy.

† Procuratoribus suis, the Emperor's Lawyers or Attorneys, who prosecuted upon Delinquencies in his Name, and for his Service.

a Greek Proverb in Praise of Mushrooms, the Dish with which *Claudius* was poyson'd, extolling them as the Food of the \* Gods. 'Tis certain, he treated his Memory with all manner of Invectives and Disgrace, both in his Words and Actions; sometimes accusing him of Folly, and at other times of Cruelty. *He ceases*, says he in Ridicule, *morari inter Homines*, making the first Syllable of the Word † *morari* long. And several of his Decrees and Constitutions he repeal'd, as made by a Dotard and a Madman. In short, he took no Care to have any Inclosure to his Sepulchre, beside a low Border of ordinary Stuff. He attempted to destroy *Britannicus* by Poyson, as much out of Emulation of his Voice, which was sweeter than his own, as from a Fear lest the Value People had for his || Father's Memory shou'd one Day render him too powerful with them. It was administer'd by one -| *Locusta*, who had sav'd her Life by impeaching others who practis'd the Poysoning Trade: But because it wrought slower than he expected, only throwing *Britannicus* into a Looseness. he sent for the Woman, and beat her with his own Hand, telling her, she had given him a Medicine instead of a Poyson. And when she excus'd

\* Because *Claudius*, who had eat it, was made a God.

† *Morari inter Homines delinere*, [to cease to dwell among Men] is a Latin Phr. se for Dying; but *morosus*, the first Syllable of which is long, is Greek for a Fool: And *Nero* punn'd upon this, and by leaning on the Syllable *mo*, made it signify, *Claudius* had ceas'd to play the Fool among Men.

|| *Claudius*.

-| A most noted Conjur. She had been condemn'd for her Art, and sav'd her life only by accusing a multitude of others. At length a new Emperor employ'd her in preparing the Mushrooms wh. he poyson'd *Claudius* and *Nero* sent for her from Gaul to practise her Skill upon *Britannicus*.

cus'd herself, that she had us'd a smaller Quantity meerly to prevent the Matter from being suspected; *To be sure*, says he, *I am mortally afraid of the* \* *Julian Law*, and made her boil up a Dose before him in his Chamber, which shou'd be as strong and sudden as possible. Having try'd it upon a Kid, and finding he linger'd with it five Hours, he boil'd it over again several times, and then gave some to a Pig, which presently expiring, he commanded it to be carry'd into the Room, and given to *Britannicus* as he was at Supper with him. *Britannicus* dropping down as soon as he had drank it he pretended to the Company it was a Fit of the Falling-Sickness, with which he us'd to be troubled; and bur'ied him out the next Day with an ordinary Funeral in the middle of a great Shower of Rain. To requite *Locusta* for her Labour, he gave her an Indemnity with a large Estate in Land, and even provided her with a Number of Schollars to learn her Art.

34. His Mother prying into his Words and Actions, and reproving him severely; to make her odious to the People, he first shew'd himself uneasy at it, as if he wou'd resign the Empire and retire to *Rhodes*; and afterwards he depriv'd her of all her Honours and Power, and taking away her Guard of *Roman Soldiers* and *Germans*, expell'd her from his Conversation and from the Palace. Nor did he spare any Pains to disturb and vex her; suborning some while she continu'd at *Rome*, to harraß her with Suits; and when she withdrew and liv'd private, he caus'd others as they pass'd that Way, either by Sea or Land, to pursue her into her † Retirement, and teaze her with Reproaches and invidious Jest. At length,

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\* *Against Poysoning.* Nero laugh'd at her impertinent Precaution, that she shou'd imagine He, who was Emperor, valu'd any Law.

† She absconded sometimes at *Tusculum*, and sometimes at *Antium*, &c.



length, being frighten'd by her Menaces and her violent Spirit, he resolv'd to cut her off: And having thrice attempted her by Poyson, and perceiv'd she had arm'd herself with Antidotes, he contriv'd to loosen the Ceiling of her Chamber, and let the Beams fall in upon her as she was fast asleep in the Night. But this Design being discover'd by some it was intrusted with, he invented a Ship, which shou'd either break in Pieces and drown her, or crush her to Death by the sudden Fall of the Cabin. Wherefore pretending to be reconcil'd, he sent her a very affectionate Letter, and invited her to *Baix* to celebrate \* *Vinerva's* Festival. While she staid, having order'd some Mariners to drive their Vessels foul upon the Gally which brought her over, and bulge it, as if it had been an Accident; he † held the Entertainment out the longer, that they might have Opportunity to do it. When she was returning to † *Bauli*, instead of her own Vessel which was thus founder'd, he offer'd her his treacherous Pinnace, waiting on her to it very chearfully, and even kissing her Breasts at parting: But the rest of the Time he pass'd in the utmost Agony, expecting the Event of his Project. When he understood all things had happen'd contrary to his Wishes, and that she had escap'd by Swimming, he was at his Wits End; and *L. Agernius*, his Freedman, coming in at the Time, and telling him with Joy his Mother was safe and unhurt, he pretended to discover a Dagger which he himself had privately convey'd thither on purpose; and as if *Agernius* had been sent to stab him with it, he commanded him to be seiz'd and manacled.

\* This lasted five Days.

† It seems by this, that Agrippina did not stay there the whole Festival, but return'd the same Day she came: otherwise there wou'd have been no Occasion for prolonging the Banquet to give the Men time to split the Ship.

|| A Town between Misenum and *Baix*.

cled, and his Mother to be slain, but in such a manner, that she shou'd seem to have laid Hands on herself, because her Crime was detected. There are also Things related of him yet more atrocious than this, and by very good Authorities; as, that he ran eagerly to view her Body after she was kill'd; that he handled her Limbs, disparaging some and praising others; and being a-dry, call'd for Liquor, and drank as he stood surveying her. Yet was he not able either then or afterwards to bear the Conscience of his Wickedness, tho' the Soldiers, the Senate, and the People ratify'd it by their congratulating him upon it. He often confess'd he was haunted by his Mother's Ghost, and that the Furies pursu'd him with their Whips and their flaming Brands. He also employ'd Magicians, to try by their Incantations to raise her *Manes* and appease them. As he travell'd thro' Greece, he did not dare to be present at the *Eleusinian* Rites; at the Beginning of which, Proclamation was made by the Crier, for impious and wicked Persons to withdraw. To the Parricide of his Mother, he added the Murder of his Aunt. When he went to see her as she lay ill of a \* *Tenesmus*, she stroak'd his downy † Beard as she us'd to do, and said to him with a World of Tenderness, *If I can but receive the first Polling of this, I shall dye with Pleasure*; at which he turn'd to those who sat by, and told them he wou'd cut it off immediately, making a Jest of what she said, and commanded the Physicians to give her a vigorous Purge. As soon as she was dead, he seiz'd upon her Estate, and suppress'd her Testament, that Nothing might escape him.

35. He had two Wives beside *Octavia*; *Poppæa Sabina*, whose Father had been Questor, and who was marry'd before to a Roman Knight; and *Statillia Messalina*,

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\* *A strong Pressure to ease Nature, without being able to do it.*

† *See the Note, p. 253.*

*Linx*, the Grand-Daughter of *Taurus*, who had been Consul twice and had triumph'd. To obtain her, he murder'd her Husband *Atticus Regulus* the Consul, in the Time of his Consulship. Being soon weary of *Ottavia's* Embraces, and his Friends chiding him for it, 'Tis sufficient, says he, that she is allow'd to wear the Ornaments of my Wife. Having often sought to strangle her in vain, he dismiss'd her for being Barren; and the People disliking the Divorce, and not daring to exclaim against it, he banish'd her. At last he put her to Death for Adulteries, the Charge of which was so impudent and false, that all who were examin'd against her denying it upon the Rack, he suborn'd *Proculus* his Pedagogue to accuse her, who confess'd he had corrupted her by a Wile. He marry'd *Poppæa* the twelfth Day after *Ottavia's* Divorce, and lov'd her entirely: Yet even Her he kill'd with a Kick, because she reproach'd him for returning late from his Charivaring, tho' she was then great with Child and indispos'd. By her he had his Daughter *Claudia* \* *Augusta*, whom he lost in her Infancy. There was no sort of Kindred who did not suffer by his Barbarity. *Antonia*, the Daughter of *Claudius*, refusing to marry him after *Poppæa's* Death, he executed her for plotting against him. In like manner he put to Death others who were related to him in any Degree. Among them, *Aulus Plantius* a Youth; and having first defil'd him by Force, Now, says he, my Mother may go and kiss my Successor; for he gave out he was *Agrippina's* Minion, and was prompted by her to entertain Hopes of the Empire. His Son-in-Law *Rufinus Crispinus*, *Poppæa's* Son, who was under Age, he commanded to be push'd into the Sea by his own Slaves as he was fishing; because 'twas said he us'd to play at being a General and an Emperor. He banish'd *Tuscanus*, his Nurse's Son, because when he was Procurator of

*Egypt*:

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\* See the Note, p. 252.



Egypt, he had wash'd in the Baths which were prepar'd for him against his \* Arrival. He compell'd his Preceptor *Seneca* to destroy himself: Tho' oftentimes when he ask'd to be dismiss'd from Court, and offer'd to surrender his Estate, he solemnly swore, *He suspected him without Reason; for he wou'd perish sooner than do him Harm.* Having promis'd *Burrus*, the Prefect of his Guard, a Medicine for a Swelling in his Throat, he sent him a Poyson. His rich old Freedmen, who had promoted his Adoption and his Advancement to the Empire, and had supported him in it, he took off by Poyson, which he gave them partly in their Meat and partly in their Drink.

36. Nor did he rage with less Cruelty against Strangers and Foreigners. A blazing Star, which is generally believ'd to bode Destruction to Sovereign Powers, had appear'd for several Nights: Being anxious about this, as soon as he understood by *Babilus* the Astrologer, that it was usual for Kings to expiate such Portents by some extraordinary Bloodshed, and † transfer them upon their Nobles; he form'd a Resolution to cut off every one of principal Quality. He determin'd this the rather and with greater Appearance of Reason, because two Conspiracies happen'd to break out just at the Time: The first and most dangerous of which was that of *Piso* at Rome, the other was *Vinicius's* at *Beneventum*. The Conspirators on their Trial pleaded in treble Chains: Some of them freely confess'd the Crime, and others justify'd it, and said, there was no Way to serve him who was blemish'd with the blackest Villanies, but to kill him. The Children of the Offenders were expell'd the City, and either poyson'd or starv'd; and some of them, 'tis known, with their Pedagogues  
and

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\* At Alexandria.

† Claudius had also us'd the same Expedient to avoid an Omen, p. 336.

and the \* Slaves who carry'd their Satchels after them to School, were murder'd as they were at Dinner, and others were forbidden to use any Means to get their daily Bread.

37. After this, he put to Death whomever he pleas'd, without Distinction or Reserve, and upon any Occasion. Not to mention many; It was objected to *Salvidienus Orfitus*, that he had let out three Apartments in his House by the *Forum*, for the † Deputies of the Cities to meet in; and to *Cassius Longinus* a Lawyer, and who had lost his Eyes, that among the Images of his Family he kept one of *C. Cassius* who assassinated *Cæsar*; and to *Pætus Thrasea*, that he had a sour Countenance and look'd like a Pedagogue. Those whom he commanded to dispatch themselves, he allow'd no longer Time for it than an Hour: And to prevent any Delay, he order'd Surgeons to attend them, to Cure those out of hand who linger'd; for so he call'd cutting open the Veins to bleed them to Death. There was an *Egyptian* an enormous-Eater, who us'd to devour raw Flesh and any thing that was set before him; and, 'tis thought, he had a great mind to give him living Men to tear them in Pieces and eat them. Being wonderfully exalted at his succeeding in all this, he said, *No Prince before him knew the Extent of his Power*; and often let fall plain Intimations, that he wou'd not spare even the rest of the Senators,

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\* They were call'd *Capfarii*, from *Capfa*, a Satchel. This Custom is also mention'd by *Juvenal*:

Quem sequitur custos angustæ vernula Capfæ,

Sat. 10.

So small an Elf, that when the Days are foul,  
He and his Satchel must be borne to School.

Mr. Dryden.

† Who resided at Rome on account of some Affairs of their several Towns.

tors, and that he design'd to abolish the Order out of the Republick, and commit the Government of the Provinces to the *Roman* Knights and to his Freedmen: And 'tis certain, that neither coming nor going he wou'd grace any of them with a Kiss, nor return their Salutation. And when he began his Work of cutting thro' the † *Isthmus*, he wish'd aloud in the Hearing of a vast Multitude, *That it might prove fortunate for Him and for the Roman People*, making no Mention of the Senate.

38. Yet he neither spar'd the People nor the Walls of his Native Country. Somebody saying in Conversation,

\* Ἐμὲ δανόντες γαῖα μυχόντω πνεῖ.

When I am dead, let the whole World expire,  
And Heav'n and Earth be all involv'd in Fire.

I, says he, ἔμὲ ζώντες, *while I am alive*. And indeed he made his Words good. For pretending to be displeas'd with the Deformity of the old Buildings, and the Narrowness and inconvenient Turnings of the Streets, he set the City on fire so openly, that several Consular Men caught his Officers in their Houses with Tow and lighted Torches in their Hands, and yet did not dare to seize them, but let them go. And having a strong Fancy for the Ground upon which

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† Of Achaia, p. 362.

\* *The Meaning of these Words is, Let Earth and Heaven be mingled together in Ruine. For the Word Πῦρ, Fire, which is one of the Elements according to the Philosophy of the Antients, signifies Heaven in general; but it was necessary to translate it literally, because Nero in his Answer plainly understands it so, alluding to his burning the City: And Suetonius himself takes it so, by saying, planeq; ita fecit, he made his Words good; i. e. he set Rome, the Capital of the World, on fire.*



which some Barns stood, near his \* *Golden Lodging*, he beat them down with battering Engines, because the Walls being of Stone would not yield to the Flames. For six Days and seven Nights this Calamity continued to rage ; and the People being dislodg'd, were forc'd to shelter themselves among the Tombs and Sepulchres of the Dead. Then beside an infinite Number of common Houses, were laid in Ashes the Dwellings of celebrated Generals in former Times, nobly adorn'd with Spoils of the Enemy, and the Temples of the Gods which had been vow'd and dedicated by the Kings, and in the *Punick* and *Gallic* Wars ; and whatever Relicks and Monuments of Antiquity had been hitherto preserv'd. He beheld the Burning from *Mæneas's* Tower, being wonderfully delighted with the *Loveliness*, as he term'd it, of the Flames, and singing, in his Player's Habit, the *Destruction of Troy*. And that he might secure the Spoil and Booty for himself, he promis'd to remove the dead Bodies and the Rubbish at his own Expence, and so permitted none to come near to look after any Goods which were left. And he not only accepted a † Contribution, but even solicited for it, and thereby almost exhausted the Provinces and the Estates of private Men.

39. These Mischiefs and Distresses which the Prince himself inflicted on the People, were also accompany'd with some which were accidental. As a Pestilence, of which so many dy'd in one Autumn, that thirty Thousand Funerals were enter'd in the Books of the Goddesses × *Libitina* ; and a Defeat in  
*Britain,*

\* See p. 373.

† Toward his own Loss, 'tis likely ; for the Charge of clearing the Ruines he took upon himself.

× The Goddesses of Funerals, in whose Temple all Things necessary for Funerals were sold ; and an Account, it seems, was kept of every Funeral, much like our Weekly Bills of Mortality.

*Britain*, in which †† two of the principal Towns were lost, and a Multitude of Citizens and Allies put to the Sword; and a Disgrace in the East, the Legions being sent under the Yoke, and *Syria* it self scarcely maintain'd. It is surprizing and a very remarkable Circumstance, that amid all this he took nothing more patiently than the Curses and Reproaches which were thrown upon him, and treated none more gently than those who lash'd him in Satires and Libels. Several were written in *Greek* and *Latin*, and made Publick; such as these,

Νέρων, 'Ορέστης, 'Αλκμαίων, μηδ' οκτόνοιο.  
Νεόνυμφον Νέρων, ἰδίαν μητὲρ' ἀπέκλεινεν.

*Nero, Orestes, and Alcmaeon flew*  
Their Mothers all, and did with Rage pursue;  
But double Murder was by *Nero* done,  
Who slew a Mother and a Miss in one.

*Quis negat Æneæ magnâ de stirpe Neronem?*  
\* *Sustulit hic Matrem, sustulit ille Patrem.*

Who will deny that *Nero* draws his Line  
From Great *Æneas*, and is next of Kin?  
The first took off his aged Sire, and t'other;  
The World is sensible, took off his Mother.

S

† *Dum*

†† *Colchester and London.*

\* *The Satire of these Verses lies in the Turn upon the Word sustulit, which in Latin signifies both to carry away, as a Man carries a Burden (and thus Æneas sustulit Patrem, took or carry'd away his Father from the Ruines of Troy) and to murder, (and thus Nero sustulit Matrem, took off his Mother.)*

† *Dum tendit citharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,  
Noster erit \* Pæan, ille || Εκα[ν]βελέτης.*

While Nero does his merry Harp prepare,  
And his tough Bow the *Parthian* strings for War,  
(To give the Praise their diff'ring Merits claim) /  
Nero may justly carry *Pæan's* Name, S  
And the bold *Parthian* the *Far-shooter's* Fame.

*Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate Quirites,  
Si non & Veios occupat ista domus.*

All Rome is now a single †† House; away  
To *Veii*, Citizens, your Goods convey,  
At least if this proud House has left you Room,  
And not devour'd the Town before you come.

Yet he never enquir'd after the Authors; and when  
the Names of some were given in to the Senate he  
forbad them to be severely punish'd. As he was  
passing along, *Isidorus* the Cynick revil'd him aloud  
in Publick, That he sung the ill Actions of -† *Nauplius*  
well,

† There is a Turn in these Lines upon the Word *tendit*,  
which signifies to strain the Wires of a Harp, and to  
string a Bow. The *Parthians* were fam'd for the Art of  
Shooting, and *Nero* was fond of handling the Harp.

\* An Epithet belonging to *Apollo*, who was skill'd both  
in the Harp and the Bow; it signifies an Assuager,  
i. e. of Pain or Sorrow, by his Harmony.

|| *Far-shooter*, Another of *Apollo's* Epithets, fre-  
quently given him in *Homer*.

†† Alluding to *Nero's* making his Golden Lodging  
(p. 373.) take up such a vast Compass of Ground.

-†- The Father of *Palamedes*, who in Revenge of his  
Son's being murder'd by *Ulysses*, made false Signs to the  
*Grecian Fleet* returning from *Troy*, and so caus'd them  
to split upon the Rocks.



well, and us'd his own good Qualities ill And *Datus*, an Actor of *Atellanic* Farces, in a Song which began Ὑψίαντε πατέρ, ὑψίαντε μητέρας, Farewell Father, farewell Mother, painted it to the Life by his Motions, sometimes imitating Drinking and sometimes Swimming, to signify the Deaths of *Claudius* and *Agrippina*; and at the Close,

*Orcus vobis ducit pedes,*

And *Pluto* waits for You,

he plainly pointed out the Senate by his Postures. Yet *Nero* took no farther Notice of the Player and the Philosopher than to expel them the City and out of *Italy*, either from a Contempt of Infamy, or lest he shou'd provoke the Wits against him more, if he express'd any Concern.

40. The World having now borne such a Prince almost fourteen Years, at length forsook him and threw him off; the *Gauls* first leading the Way, under the Command of *Julius Vindex*, who was Pro-pretor of the Province. It had been foretold to *Nero* by the Astrologers, that a Time wou'd come when he shou'd be deserted; which occasion'd that celebrated Saying of his, Τὸ τέχνητον γὰρ παντα βίβει, *An Artist can live in any Country*: And therefore he thought himself the more justify'd in practising Musick so diligently; for it was a pleasing Diversion to him while he was Emperor, and might be the Means to subsist him if he came to be a private Man. Yet some assur'd him if he were depos'd, he shou'd still obtain the Dominion of the East; others promis'd him the Kingdom of *Judæa* by Name, and most declar'd he wou'd be entirely restor'd to his former Condition. He was the more inclin'd to expect this, because *Britain* and *Armenia* being both lost and again recover'd, he imagin'd he had already suffer'd the Misfortunes which were destin'd to befall him. Having consult-ed the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and being warn'd

to beware of the seventy-third Year ; as if he shou'd not die till then, he never once thought of *Galba's* Age, but was so strongly persuaded he shou'd live to old Age, and enjoy a perpetual and uncommon Felicity, that losing some Things of Value by a Shipwreck, he scrupled not to lay among his Friends, *The \* Fishes wou'd bring them to him again.* He heard of the Insurrections in both the *Gauls* upon the same † Day that he kill'd his Mother, and receiv'd the News so calmly and in so secure a manner, that he made People think he was glad he had now an Opportunity by the Right of War to plunder those wealthy Provinces. He went directly to the *Gymnasium*, and beheld the Combats as merrily as ever. Being interrupted at Supper with Advices of more Commotions, his Passion rose no higher than to throw out some Menaces against the Revolters. In a Word, for eight Days together he answer'd no Letters, nor issu'd any Instructions or Orders, but let the Matter sleep.

41. At length being rouz'd by the contumelious and frequent Edicts of *Vindex*, he exhorted the Senate in a Letter to do Justice to him and the Republick, and revenge them ; excusing his not attending them in Person by reason of an Inflammation in his Throat. Nothing gaul'd him so much, as that they derided him for a miserable Harper, and call'd him || *Æno-barbus* instead of *Nero* ; and he even declar'd he wou'd resume his Family-Name, which was now cast upon him in Disgrace, and lay aside that of his Adoption. The other Reflection, as if there were no Shadow of Truth in it, he refuted no farther than to say, *It*  
was

\* Alluding perhaps to the Story of *Polycrates* of *Samos*, who throwing a Ring into the Sea, found it in the Belly of a Fish the next Day at Dinner.

† Upon the same Day of the same Month in another Year.  
|| See p. 353.

*was very absurd to object Unskilfulness to Him, who had taken such Pains about the Art, and brought it to such Perfection; and was often asking every one, if they knew of any Body that excell'd him. But fresh Messengers continually following upon the Heels of the former, he return'd to Rome in a great Consternation; but he was put in heart a little by a frivolous Auspice he met in the Way: Observing carv'd out upon a Monument, a Gallic Soldier vanquish'd by a Roman Knight, and dragg'd by the Hair of his Head, he leap'd for Joy at the Sight, and worshipp'd toward Heaven. Yet when he arriv'd, he neither assembled the Senate nor the People to lay the Affair before them; but inviting some of the Chief Men to his own House, after a hasty Consultation, he entertain'd them the rest of the Day with an Organ of a new Kind never known before, and shewing them the several Parts of the Invention, and discoursing about the Nature and Difficulty of the Instrument, he told them he design'd to introduce it upon the Theatre, if *Vindex* wou'd permit him.*

42. But when he knew that *Galba* and both the *Spains* were revolted, he sunk at once, and his Spirits failing, he lay speechless a long Time as if he had been dead. As soon as he recover'd from his Swoon, he tore his Garments, and beating himself about the Head, cry'd out, *He was undone.* His old Nurse endeavouring to comfort him, and putting him in mind that the same Things had befallen other Princes before him, *His Sufferings*, he answer'd, *were beyond them all, and were without Example; for He lost his Empire while he was alive.* Yet did he not omit or abate any Part of his usual Luxury and Sloth; but upon the first good Tidings from the Provinces, at a very rich Entertainment he broke out into jocular Verses upon the Leaders of the Revolt, singing them to lascivious Tunes which were vulgarly known, and accompany'd them with proper Gestures. And being privately convey'd to the Theatre, he sent Word to an Actor who pleas'd the Spectators wonderfully,



That he made too bold with the Employments of the Emperor.

43. At the Beginning of the Tumults, 'tis believ'd he immediately took several Resolutions inexpressibly barbarous and vile, yet not in the least inconsistent with his natural Inclination and Temper. As, To send new Officers to succeed the Generals and Governors of the Provinces, and a Set of Assassines to cut their Throats, for being all involv'd in a Conspiracy against him, and promoting the same Design: To butcher the Exiles in all Parts, and all the Natives of *Gaul* that were in the City; the first, lest they shou'd join the Revolters, and the others as Accomplices with their Countrymen, and Abettors of them: To give up both the *Gauls* to be plunder'd by the Armies: To poyson the whole Senate at Entertainments, and set the City on fire, and let loose the Wild Beasts among the People, that they might not be able to stop the Progress of the Flames. But being deterr'd from this, not so much out of Repentance as Despair of executing it; and believing it was necessary to take the Field in Person, he displac'd the Consuls before the Time, and assum'd the Consulship alone, as if the Fates had ordain'd that *Gaul* cou'd not be conquer'd but by a Consul. Having taken Possession of the *Fasces*, as he was going out from Table, he lean'd on the Shoulders of his familiar Friends, and declar'd, as soon as he arriv'd in the Provinces he wou'd present himself before the Troops, unarm'd, and do nothing but weep; and that when the Revolters were recover'd to their Duty, the next Day, amid the common Rejoicing, he wou'd sing a Triumphant Song, which therefore he ought to compose \* out of hand.

44. In preparing for his Expedition, his first Care was to provide Carriages for transporting his Musical Instruments, and to have the Concubines he took along

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\* That he might have it ready against the Time.

along with him trimm'd like Men, and to arm them<sup>\*</sup> with the Axes and Shields of *Amazons*. Then he summon'd the City Tribes to come in and List; and no proper Persons appearing, he demanded the Masters to supply him with so many<sup>\*</sup> Slaves, nor wou'd he accept of any but the principal Servants of a Family, not excusing even the Stewards and *Amanuenses*. He commanded all the Orders to advance a Part of their Estates, and that the Tenants of private Houses, and the meanest Inhabitants, should pay an annual Pension to the Treasury. He was also very scrupulous and strict as to the Sort of Money in which they paid him, requiring fresh Pieces, the best Silver, and try'd Gold. Most therefore flatly refus'd to contribute any thing, inslitting that the Informers shou'd rather be oblig'd to refund their<sup>†</sup> Premiums.

45. The People were also put into a Flame against the Champions he employ'd in his Shews, by a Scarcity of Provisions which fell out at the Time: For it happen'd, that in a Publick Famine it was reported a Ship was arriv'd from *Alexandria*, and had brought nothing but || Dust for the Emperor's Wrestlers. Their Hatred therefore being universally excited against him, there was no kind of Contumely which he did not undergo. Somebody clapp'd a little Chariot upon the Top of one of his Statues, with an Inscription in Greek, *Thou art now a X Combatant*

S 4

batant

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<sup>\*</sup> See p. 77.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 355.

|| *A fine Sand to strew the Place where they wrestled.*

X *At once deriding him for debasing himself to a Common Racer, and intimating the Time was now come when he shou'd not play the Charioteer in Jest, but all the Skill he was Master of, wou'd be necessary to keep himself from being thrown out of the Seat of the Government, and losing the Empire.*

*batant indeed, and, Away, & drag on.* A Satchel was hung about the Neck of another, with these Words, *This is the best I can give thee, but thou hast deserved a \* Sack.* It was also wrote upon the Pillars, *Thou hast rais'd the † Cocks with thy Singing.* And in the Night several Persons pretending to quarrel with their Slaves, call'd out very often, *A || Vindex, A Vindex.*

46. Beside these Things, he was terrify'd with apparent Portents, both old and new, of Dreams, and Auspices and Omens. When his Mother was murder'd, tho' he never us'd to dream before, he thought in his Sleep, that the †† Rudder of a Ship which he was steering was torne out of his Hand, and that his Wife X *Octavia* dragg'd him into a thick Darkness, and sometimes that he was cover'd with a Multitude of winged (†) Emmets; and sometimes that he  
was

\* *Lat. Traheret tandem: An Expression us'd among the Charioteers, when the Driver was tumbled from his Seat and dragg'd along by his Horses, which usually cost him his Life. It alludes to Nero's being depriv'd of the Government, and perhaps put to Death.*

\* *The Punishment of one who murder'd his Parents. It signifies that Nero deserv'd to suffer it for killing his Mother.*

† *A Pun upon the Latin Word Gallus, which signifies equally a Cock and a Native of Gaul: And accordingly the Satire has a double Meaning; That with his vile Screaming he wak'd the Cocks at Midnight, and that by his devoting himself to those Effeminacies, and neglecting Publick Affairs, he encourag'd the Gauls to revolt*

|| *The Proper Name of Vindex the Governor of Gaul, who was in Arms against Nero: it also signifies an Avenger.*

†† *Portending his losing the Supreme Command.*

X *He had divorc'd and then banish'd her, and at last put her to Death upon perjur'd Evidence of his own suborning. This boded he shou'd follow her to the Shades below. Accordingly he kill'd himself upon the Day that she had been executed.*

(†) *Shewing he shou'd be assaulted by the enrag'd Populace.*



was surrounded by the -†- National Statues dedicated at *Pompey's Theatre*, and stopp'd from going on: That a *Spanish Gennet* which he wonderfully admir'd, was transform'd in the hinder Part of his Body into an \* Ape; and his Head alone remaining unchang'd, he neigh'd a Musical Tune. The Doors of the *Mausoleum* flew open of their own accord, and a † Voice was heard summoning him by Name. The *Lares* being || adorn'd on the Kalends of *January*, fell down as the Sacrifice was preparing. As he was taking Omen at his entring upon a new Office, *Sportus* presented him with a Ring, in the Diamond of which was engraven, the × Rape of *Proserpine*. And upon

S 5

the

-|- Statues erected in Honour of several Nations under the Roman Command.

\* Signifying perhaps, that *Galba*, who declar'd against him in *Spain*, shou'd force *Nero*, after all his Pride and Tyranny, to end his Days in a contemptible Manner: And the Musical Neighs seem to allude to his miserable Singing, which he was extravagantly vain of all his Life-time, and even at his Death he shew'd this lay next his Heart

† Like that of *Sicheus* calling his Wife *Dido* from his Tomb,

*Præterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum, &c.*  
*Virg. Æn 4.*

*A Marble Temple stood within the Grove,  
Sacred to Death and to her murder'd Love:  
That honour'd Chapel she had hung around  
With Snowy Fleeces, and with Garlands crown'd.  
Oft when she visited this lonely Dome,  
Strange Voices issu'd from her Husband's Tomb;  
She thought she heard him summon her away,  
Invite her to his Grave, and chide her Stay.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

|| Dress'd with Flowers.

× *Pluto*, the God of the Dead, carry'd *Proserpine* down with him to the Shades; and this signified *Nero* shou'd now descend thither.

the Day of ordaining the Vows, at which there was a vast Concourse of all the Orders, the Keys of the Capitol cou'd scarcely be found. When he told the Senate in an Oration he made before them against *Vindex*, That the Guilty shou'd be punish'd, and shortly meet their deserved End, they all cry'd out in a Body, And so wilt thou Augustus. It was also observ'd, that the last Play he sung in Publick, was *Oedipus* in Exile, and that he concluded with this Verse,

Θανεῖν μ' ἀνὰ γὰρ σὺ γυλαμέθ, μή τις πατήρ.

My Wife and Mother, and my Father, all  
Doom me to Death, and hunt me to my Fall.

47. In the mean time Advice arriving that other Armies were also revolted, he tore the Letters in Pieces that were deliver'd to him at Dinner, and threw down the Table, and dash'd against the Ground two fine Bowls he had a great Value for, and us'd to call *Homerian*, from some Verses of *Homer* inscrib'd about them. And causing *Locusta* to bring him a Dose of Poyson, he put it into a Golden Box, and went into the \* *Servilian* Gardens, and sending off the most trusty of his Freedmen to *Ostia* to prepare a Fleet, he founded the Tribunes and Centurions of the Pretorian Guard, whether they wou'd bear him Company in his Flight. But some declining it, and others directly refusing, and one even crying out

† *Usque adeóne mori miserum est?*

Is it so terrible a Thing to die?

he debated several Things in his Mind ; as, whether he shou'd in a submissive Manner throw himself on  
the

\* So call'd from the *Servilii*, a Noble Family at Rome.

† A Verse of *Virgil*, *Æn.* 12. *Turmus* says it to his Sister, who advis'd him to save his Life by Flight.

the Mercy of the *Parthians* or *Galba*, or put on Mourning Weeds and present himself to the People, and before the *Rostra* passionately beg them to forgive his past Abuses, and if he cou'd not succeed so far, that they wou'd at least permit him to hold the Prefecture of *Ægypt*. And a Speech was afterwards found in his *Scrutore* prepar'd upon this Subject. But 'tis thought he was deterr'd from doing so, lest he shou'd be torne in Pieces before he got into the *Forum*. Suspending his Resolution therefore till the next Day, he wak'd about Midnight, and perceiving the Guards were withdrawn, he leap'd out of Bed, and sent round about for his Friends; and hearing nothing from any of them, he went himself with a few Attendants to their Dwellings; but finding the Doors fast shut, and no body answering from within, he return'd to his Chamber. In the mean time the Centries were fled, and had carry'd off the Bedding, and his Box of Poyson was also remov'd. Upon this he immediately sent for *Spicillus* the *Mirmillo*, or any Swordsman, to dispatch him; and no body being found, *Have I then*, says he, *neither Friend nor Enemy?* and rush'd out as if he design'd to cast himself into the *Tiber*.

48. But this Transport of Rage subsiding, he looked after some private Lurking-Place to shelter himself in, while he recover'd his Spirits; and *Phaon* his Freedman offering him his Country-House, between the *Salarian* and *Nomentane* Way, about four Miles from the City; barefooted as he was, and in his Tunic, he threw an old weather-beaten Cloke over him, and covering up his Head, and binding his Handkerchief before his Face, he mounted on Horseback, attended only by four Persons, among whom was *Sporus*. But on a sudden an Earthquake and a Flash of Lightning put him into a Panick Terror, and he heard the Soldiers in the neighbouring Camp shouting, and wishing Ruin to him and Prosperity to *Galba*, and a Traveller who pass'd by, say to his Companions, *They are pursuing Nero*; and another



ther ask, *What News in the City about Nero?* His Horse starting at the Stench of a dead Carcass upon the Road, the Cloath fell from his Face, and he was known by an old Pretorian Soldier, who saluted him by his Name. As soon as they came to a Turning, they quitted their Horses among the Thickets and Briars, and with a World of Difficulty (being oblig'd to spread his Garments under his Feet to help him along) he escap'd thro' a Reedy Ground to a Wall over against *Phaon's* House. *Phaon* pressing him to conceal himself in the mean time in a Sand-Pit, he refus'd it, saying, *He wou'd not go under Ground alive.* And waiting a little, while they found a secret Passage to the House, he took some Water out of a Ditch in his Hand and drank it; *This,* said he, *is Nero's \* boil'd Water.* He pick'd off the Briars which stuck in his Cloke, and crawling upon all four thro' a Hole they had beat down to let him into the House, he threw himself upon a poor Flock-Bed in the first Chamber he came to, with only an old threadbare Cloke for a Coverlet. Being very hungry then and dry, they brought him some dirty Bread, which he refus'd; but he drank a little Water warm'd.

49. Every body pressing him now to save himself from those Indignities which hung over his Head, he caus'd a Grave to be made before his Face, exactly to the Dimensions of his Body, and any Pieces of Marble that they cou'd find to be laid together, and Water and Wood to be provided for the cleansing his Body, weeping as often as he look'd upon these Preparations, and often saying, *What an Artist is lost in me!* As he linger'd, a Messenger of *Phaon's* bringing in Letters, he snatch'd them out of his Hands, there he read, that *he was declar'd an Enemy*  
by

\* *It was Nero's Invention, says Pliny, to boil his Water, and cool it in a Glass with Snow; that he might have the Pleasure of the Coolness without the Prejudice of it.*

by the Senate, and was sought after to be punish'd More Majorum: Upon which he ask'd what Kind of Punishment that was, and understanding it was to be stripp'd naked, to have his Neck fasten'd between two Poles, and to be beaten to Death with Rods, he was frighten'd; and snatching up two Daggers he had brought with him, try'd the Edges of both, and then laid them down again, pretending, *his fatal Hour was not yet come*. Sometimes he spoke to Sporus to begin his Lamentations and Wailings, and sometimes he begg'd some Body wou'd shew him how to die by an Example, and then again he rally'd his own Dilatoriness in these Words, *I live with Disgrace and Shame; This does not become, this does not become Nero. He ought to exert himself on such an Occasion. Awake then, and rouse up thy self*. And now the Horsemen, who had Orders to bring him away alive, drew near; as soon as he perceiv'd it, he cry'd out trembling,

† Ἰππῶν μ' ὠκυπόδων ἀμφοτέρωθεν κτύπος ὕατα βάνει.

Of swift-heel'd Steeds I hear the trampling Sound.

and thrust the Dagger to his Throat, by the Assistance of Epaphroditus his Secretary. As he was gasping, a Centurion rush'd in, and clapping his Coat to the Wound, pretended he was come to his Relief; to whom he return'd no other Answer, than, *It is too late, and, Is this your Fidelity?* at which Word he expir'd, his Eyes standing out and staring to the Horror and Affright of all who saw him. He desir'd nothing of his Attendants so much, as that his Head might not come into any one's Power, but that he might by all means be burnt entire; which was granted by Icclus, Galba's Freedman, who was just before releas'd from his Bonds, in which he had been put upon the first Rising.

50. He

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† A Verse in Homer, Il. 10.

50. He was consum'd at the Expence of \* two hundred thousand Sesterces, his Corps being wrapp'd in white Garments woven with Gold, which he had worne upon the Kalends of *January*. His two Nurfes *Ecloge* and *Alexandria* repos'd his Relicks in the Monument of the *Domitian* Family; which is to be seen from the *Campus Martius*, and stands upon the † Hill of the Gardens. In it is a Sepulchre of Porphyry Marble, with an Altar of Marble of ‖ *Luna* upon it, encompass'd with × *Thasian* Stone.

51. His Stature was almost of a just Proportion, his Skin was freckled and foul, his Hair yellow, and his Countenance rather comely than handsome: His Eyes were grey and dull, his Neck fat and thick, his Belly strutting, his Legs slender, and his Health well establish'd and strong. For tho' he was immoderately luxurious, he had but three Fits of Sicknes in fourteen Years, in which yet he neither abstain'd from Wine, nor from his usual Course of Living. In his Garb and Habit he was so shamefully negligent, that he always wore his Hair in Curls up one above another, and in his Progress to *Achaia* he let it hang at length behind his Neck. He generally appear'd in Publick in a loose Gown, with a Handkerchief about his Neck, ungirt and in Slippers.

52. When he was a Boy, he began to acquaint himself with the Liberal Arts. But his Mother dissuaded him from Philosophy, telling him it was inconsistent with an Emperor; and his Preceptor *Seneca* drew him off from studying the antient Orations, that he might hold him the longer in Admiration of himself. He apply'd himself to Poetry, and compos'd Verses readily and without any Labour; nor did he, as some believe, publish other Mens for his own.

\* 8750 *Livres*.

† It was call'd so from some Gardens very flourishing and fruitful, which lay by it.

‖ A Town of *Etruria*.

× Brought from *Thassus*, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea.



own. I have had several of his Note-Books and Papers, in which were some of his principal Copies written with his own Hand, which plainly appear not to be transcrib'd or penn'd from the Mouth of another, but to be invented by himself, and taken down as they came into his Head; there are so many Blottings, and so many Things struck out and others interlin'd.

53. He had also a wonderful Fancy for Painting and working in Plaistering. He was extravagantly ambitious of Popularity, and emulated every one who in any Way pleas'd the People. An Opinion also went about, that after he had won the Crowns upon the Theatre, he design'd to enter the Lists with the Wrestlers at the *Olympic Games*: For he exercis'd every Day, and always beheld the *Grecian Games*, sitting like the Judges who awarded the Prize, in the *Area* upon the Ground; and if any Combataunts gave back too far, he push'd them forward with his own Hands. Believing he had already equall'd *Apollo* in Singing, and the *Sun* in Charioteering, he intended also to imitate the Actions of *Hercules*; and a Lion, they say, was \* prepar'd, which he was to encounter naked, and to kill him with a Club, or squeeze him to Death in his Arms in the Amphitheatre in the Sight of all the People.

54. Toward the Close of his Life he publickly vow'd, that if the Empire was secur'd to him, at the Games for his obtaining the Victory, he wou'd bring on a Water-Organ, a Chorus of Flutes and Bag-Pipes, and, upon the last Day, a Player who shou'd dance *Turnus* in *Virgil*. And some say he kill'd *Paris* the Player, as being a dangerous Rival.

55. He had an extreme Desire, tho' he pursu'd it very foolishly, to eternize himself and make his Fame perpetual. He therefore abolish'd the antient Appellations of several Things and Places, and new-nam'd

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\* This certainly means he was made tame and weak, that so Nero might be able to overcome him.

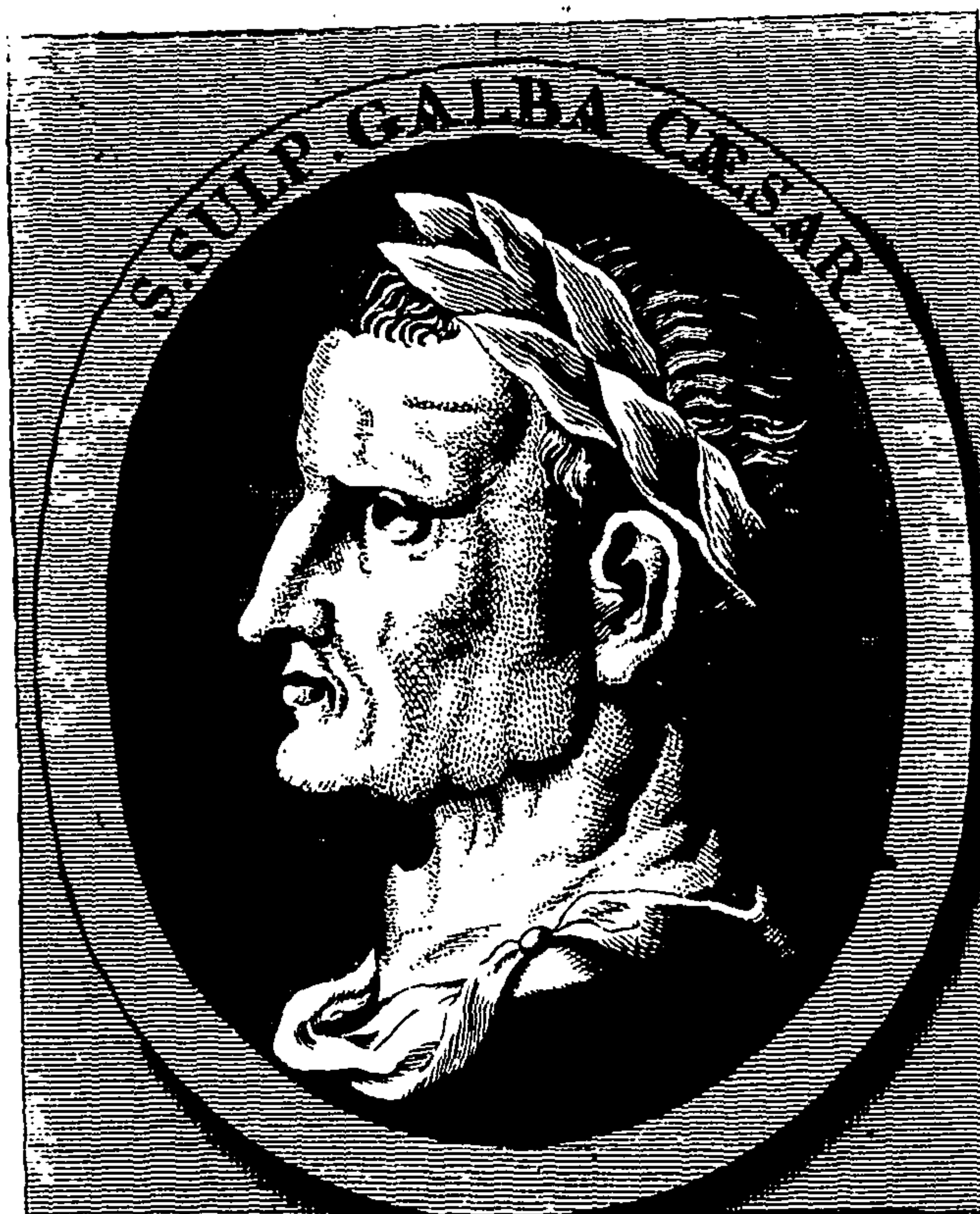
nam'd them from himself. The Month *April* he call'd *Neronius*, and design'd to name *Rome Neropolis*.

56. He was an absolute Contemner of all Religions, except that of the *Syrian* Goddeſs : Yet her he afterwards ſo much deſpis'd, that he defil'd her Image with *Urine* ; being then far gone in another Superſtition, in which he perſiſted inflexibly. For a certain unknown Fellow of the Common People preſenting him with a little Image of a Girl, as a Protection againſt Treachery ; and a Conſpiracy being preſently diſcover'd, he worſhipp'd it with the higheſt Adoration, and ſacrific'd to it three times a Day, and wou'd have had it believ'd, that by her Information he fore-knew future Events. A few Months before he periſh'd, he inſpected the Entrails of Beaſts very carefully, but he cou'd find no auſpicious Omen.

57. He dy'd in the thirty-ſecond Year of his \* Age, upon the ſame Day that he had murder'd *Oſtavia*. His Death was receiv'd with ſuch Publick Joy, that the People ran about the City with their † Caps. Yet there were not ſome wanting who for a long Time ſtrew'd his Tomb with Vernal and Summer Flowers, and ſometimes ſet up Images of him in Robes at the *Roſtra*, and ſometimes publiſh'd Ediſts in his Name, as if he were alive, and wou'd ſuddenly return to the Deſtruction of his Enemies. And *Vologeſus* King of the *Parthians*, ſending Ambaſſadors to the Senate to renew the Alliance, earneſtly deſir'd them to honour the Memory of *Nero*. In a Word, when twenty Years after, while I was a Youth, there appear'd one of an uncertain Condition, who affirm'd himſelf to be *Nero*, the Name was ſo dear to the *Parthians*, that they aſſiſted him zealouſly, and cou'd hardly be induc'd to deliver him up.

\* And the fourteenth of his Reign. See p. 387.

† In Tokens they had recover'd their Liberty.







THE  
L I F E  
O F

*Sergius Sulpitius Galba.*



THE Family of the *Cæsars* was extinct in *Nero*; which was presignify'd by several Omens, of which two were very apparent and clear. *Livia*, immediately after her Marriage with *Augustus*, going to her *Villa* by *Veii*, an Eagle flew round her, and let fall into her Lap a white Hen with a Laurel-Branch in its Bill, just as she held it when the Eagle snatch'd her up: And *Livia* causing the Hen to be taken care of, and the Laurel to be planted, such a Brood of Chickens was produc'd, that the *Villa* is to this Day call'd, *The Villa ad \* Gallinas*. The Laurel also flourish'd so abundantly, that the *Cæsars* at their Triumphs gather'd their Wreaths from thence, and made it a Custom presently to set a new Laurel in the same Place. And it was observ'd, that upon the Death of every Emperor, the Tree which he had planted wither'd away.

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\* From Gallina, a Hen.

away. Accordingly, in the last Year of *Nero*, the whole Grove of Laurels perish'd to the Root, and all the Chickens that were remaining, dy'd. The Temple of the *Cæsars* was also struck with Lightning, and the Heads fell off from all the Statues, and *Augustus's* Sceptre was shaken out of his Hand.

2. To *Nero* succeeded *Galba*, who was in no Degree related to the *Cæsars*, tho' he was undoubtedly of very noble Quality, and descended from an illustrious and antient Line. For in the Titles of his Statues he always wrote himself *Great Grandson of* \* *Q. CATULUS CAPITOLINUS*: And when he was Emperor, he affix'd a Genealogical Table in his Hall, in which he trac'd up his Paternal Original to *Jupiter*, and his Maternal to *Pasiphaë* the Wife of *Minos*. It wou'd be tedious to mention the Images and Monuments of all the Line; I shall therefore briefly relate those of his particular Branch.

3. Who of the *Sulpicii* first bore the Cognomen of *Galba*, and why or from whence he assum'd it, is uncertain. Some think that he fir'd a Town in *Spain*, which had been long besieg'd in vain, with Torches dipt in *Galbanum*; and others, that in a continu'd Indisposition which hung upon him, he constantly wore about him a certain Remedy wrapp'd in Wool call'd a *Galbeum*; and some, because he was a fat bulky Man, which the *Gauls* term *Galba*; or on the contrary, because he was very slender, like the Animals that breed in Oaks, and are call'd *Galbæ*. *Sergius Galba*, a Consular Man, added to the Reputation of the Family, being one of the most eloquent Persons in his Time. 'Tis said, that being made Pretor of *Spain*, he perfidiously put thirty thousand *Lusitanians* to the Sword, and thereby drew on the War with *Viriatius*. His Grandson, who had been *Julius Cæsar's* Lieutenant in *Gaul*, being enrag'd against him  
because

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\* The same as repair'd the Capitol, p. 8. from whence he had the Cognomen of *Capitolinus*.

because he was defeated of the Consulate, join'd in the Conspiracy with *Cassius* and *Brutus*, and was condemn'd for it by the *Pedian* Law. From him sprung the Grandfather and Father of *Galba* the Emperor. His Grandfather was more distinguish'd by his Learning than Honours, never rising above the Pretorship; but he publish'd a History very copious and exact. His Father enjoy'd the Consulate; and tho' he was short, hump-shoulder'd, and had but slender Abilities in Pleading, was a most diligent and constant Attender on the Business of the Bar. He had for his Wives *Mummia Achaia*, the Grand-Daughter of *Catulus*, and Great Grand-Daughter of *L. Maminus* who destroy'd *Corinth*; and *Livia Ocellina*, who was rich and a great Beauty. And she is thought to have made Advances to him first, and that very warmly, on account of his Reputation and Quality; tho' upon her pressing him close, he had undress'd himself before her in private, and shew'd her the Deformity of his Body, that she might not imagine herself impos'd on by his concealing it. By *Achaia* he had *Caius* and *Sergius*: The elder of whom, *Caius*, having spent his Estate, retir'd from the City, and being forbidden by *Tiberius* to take his Lot for the Proconsulship in his Turn, he put an End to his Life with his own Hands.

4. *Sergius Galba* the Emperor, was born in the Consulate of *M. Valerius Messalla* and *Cn. Lentulus*, on the \* ninth of the Kalends of *January*, in a *Villa* beneath a Hill, near *Terracina* on the left Hand of the Road to *Fundi*. Being adopted by his Step-Mother, he assum'd the Name of *Livius*, and the Cognomen of *Ocella's* Family, and chang'd his *Prænomen*; for he presently took that of *Lucius* instead of *Sergius*, and continu'd to use it till he arriv'd at the Empire.

† *Augustus*,

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\* December 21.



† *Augustus*, 'tis well known, as he was making his Salutation to him among a Company of Boys of the same Age, taking hold of his little Cheek, καὶ σὺ τέκνον ἡ ἀρχὴς ἡμεῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν; Child, says he, thou also shalt have a Taste of our Imperial Power. And *Tiberius* perceiving he wou'd come to be Emperor, tho' not till he was in Years, *Vivat sane, quando id ad nos nihil pertinet*; With all my Heart, says he, let him live, since I am not concern'd in the Matter. As his Grandfather also was propitiating the Gods after a great Thunder, an Eagle snatch'd the Entrails out of his Hands, and carry'd them off to an Oak full of Acorns; upon which it was answer'd, that it portended the Family shou'd obtain the Supreme Dignity, tho' late; the Old Man fell a laughing at the Answer, *Ay*, says he, when the Mule brings forth. And nothing after this gave *Galba* so much Spirit when he was pushing his Designs, as the Foaling of a Mule; which while others derested as an Obscene Omen, he receiv'd it as the most Joyful that cou'd be, remembering his Grandfather's Sacrifice and Saying. Having put on the Virile Gown, he dream'd he heard *Fortune* calling to him and telling him, *She stood at his Gate quite weary and out of Breath, and unless she were immediately taken in, she shou'd be made a Prey to the first that came.* As soon as he wak'd he open'd his Doors, and found a Brazen Image of the Goddess above a Cubit long just before the Threshold; and taking it in his Arms carry'd it away to *Tusculum*, where he generally pass'd the Summer; and having consecrated it in an Apartment of the House, he worshipp'd it always with monthly Supplications and an annual Vigil. Tho' he was not yet arriv'd to Years of Maturity

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† *Galba* must be now at least fifty-four Years old, supposing this to be spoken by *Augustus* in the last Year of his Life: For *Tiberius* reign'd twenty-three Years, *Caligula* three, *Claudius* fourteen, and *Nero* fourteen, beside the odd Months and Days.

rity, he obstinately kept up the antient Custom of the City, which was now grown obsolete and was only us'd in his House, that his Freedmen and Slaves shou'd all wait upon him twice a Day to wish him a Good Morning and Good Night.

5. Among the Liberal Sciences he also apply'd himself to the Law. He took care to marry, but having lost his Wife *Lepida* and his two Sons by her, he continu'd to live single, and cou'd on no Terms be prevail'd with to alter his Condition, not even by the Addresses of *Agrippina*, now a Widow by the Death of her Husband *Domitius*, who had urg'd him all manner of Ways while his Wife was yet living; insomuch that in an Assembly of Matrons, *Galba's* Mother *Lepida* reprimanded her severely, and even struck her with her Hand. He had a Veneration for *Livia Augusta* beyond all others, and was highly in Favour with her while she liv'd, and was likely to have been vastly enrich'd by her when she dy'd: For the largest Legacy of all (\* fifty Millions of Sesterces) being left to him, because the Sum was wrote in Abbreviations and not in Words at length, *Tiberius*, who was her Heir, reduc'd it to a Thousand, and even that he never receiv'd.

6. Being promoted to Honours before the legal Time, when he was Pretor he exhibited at the Florai Games a new Kind of Spectacle, Elephants walking on the Ropes. After this he was President of the Province of *Aquitania* almost a Year, and then bore an † ordinary Consulship for six Months; in which he happen'd to succeed *L. Domitius*, *Nero's* Father, and *Salvius Otho*, the Father of *Otho*, succeeded him, a Presage as it were of his following Fortune, by which he came to be Emperor between the Sons of both. Being appointed by *Caius Caesar* to command

mand

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\* 2187500 Livres.

† i. e. He began it on the Kalends of January, and was chosen as usual, and not substituted in another's stead.

mand the Legions in *Gætulicus's* Room, the Day after his Arrival among them, he restrain'd their Clapping at a solemn Shew which happen'd to be presented, publishing an Order, *That they shou'd keep their Hands within their Clokes.* Immediately the Word was given thro' the Camp,

*Disce miles militare, Galba est, non Gætulicus.*

Soldiers, mind your Arms, 'tis *Galba*, not *Gætulicus*.

With the same Severity also he forbad them to sue for Furloes of Absence. The Veteranes and the new Levies he improv'd by continual Exercise: And having repuls'd the Barbarians in Time, who had made an Irruption into *Gaul*, he recommended himself and his Troops so highly to *Caius* who was reviewing them, that among innumerable Bodies of Forces drawn together out of all the Provinces, none receiv'd a greater Character from him, nor more ample Rewards. He also distinguish'd himself by leading up a Military Procession in the Camp, arm'd with a \* Target, and running by the Emperor's Chariot for twenty Miles.

7. When the News of *Caius's* Murder came abroad, some press'd him to embrace the Occasion, but he rather chose to be quiet; which so ingratiated him with *Claudius*, that he admitted him into the Number of his intimate Friends; and upon his being taken ill on a sudden, tho' not dangerously, he put off the Day appointed for his Expedition into *Britain*. He obtain'd the Consulship of *Africk* for two Years, being elected extraordinarily to settle and regulate that Province, which was all in Confusion by its Civil Dissentions and the Infurrections of the Barbarians. He restor'd it by a strict Course of Severity and Justice, even in the minutest Things.

Provisions

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\* See the Note p. 353.



Provisions falling short in their March, a Soldier was accus'd of selling the Remainder of his Share, being a Bushel of Wheat, for a hundred Denaries; and he forbad any, when the Fellow shou'd come to want Victuals himself, to relieve him, by which Means he was starv'd to Death. As to his Judicial Decisions, the Property of a certain Beast being call'd in Question, and the Arguments and Witnesses on both Hands proving very weak and imperfect, and it being difficult consequently to guess at the Truth, he decreed thus, that the Beast shou'd be lead blindfold to the Lake where they us'd to water him, and there they shou'd unbind his Eyes, and that he shou'd be the Man's whom he made to first after Drinking.

8. For his Actions perform'd now in *Africa* and formerly in *Germany*, he receiv'd the Triumphal Ornaments and a threefold Priesthood, being chosen among the \* Fifteen, and the † *Titii*, and the *Augustales*. And from this Time to near the Middle of *Nero's* Reign, he liv'd generally retir'd. Nor did he ever take a Journey for his Diversion, but he had a Carriage attending him with a || Million of Sesterces in Gold. At length, as he was residing at *Fundi*, the Province of *Hispania Tarraconensis* was offer'd him: And it happen'd, that while he was sacrificing there after his Arrival, in a Publick Building, a Boy who waited and held a Censer in his Hand, had his whole Head of Hair turn'd grey on a sudden. Nor were some wanting who interpreted it to signify a Change of Publick Affairs, and that an old Man shou'd succeed to a young one; that is, he shou'd succeed *Nero*. Not long after, a Clap of Thunder breaking upon the *Cantabrian* Lake, twelve Axes were found in the Bottom;

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\* These were appointed to keep the Sybilline Books of Prophecies.

† Instituted by *Tatius* to perform the Sabine Rites.

|| 43750 Livres.

Bottom ; an evident Sign of the Supreme Command

9. He govern'd the Province for eight Years variously and with great Inequality of Temper. At first he was rigid, vehement and extravagant in punishing Offences. For a Banker telling out a Summ of Money falsely, he cut his Hands off and nail'd them to his Table. And a Tutor poysoning his Pupil, to whom he was appointed Heir, he caus'd him to be crucify'd ; and when he begg'd to have the Privilege of the Laws, and cry'd out he was a *Roman Citizen*, to alleviate the Punishment by a sort of Consolation and Honour, he commanded his Cross to be chang'd, and that he shou'd have one higher than all the rest erected, and painted over white. He chang'd his Manner by Degrees into downright Negligence and Sloath, that so *Nero* might be able to take no Occasion against him ; since, as he us'd to say, *No Man is oblig'd to give an Account of his Idleness*. As he was holding a Court at *New Carthage*, he understood there was a Rising in both the *Gauls* ; and while the Legate of *Aquitania* was imploring him to assist them, a Letter was deliver'd him from *Vindex*, pressing him, *to make himself the Deliverer of Human Kind, and their Leader* : And partly out of Fear, and partly out of Hope, he accepted the Invitation without much Delay. For he discover'd some private Orders *Nero* had sent to his Procurators to put him to Death, and was animated and confirm'd by some very fortunate Auspices and Omens, and by the Prophecy of an Honourable Virgin ; which made the deeper Impression upon him, because the Priest of *Jupiter*, being directed by a Dream, had dug up the same Verses in a private Part of the Temple, which had been deliver'd in like Manner by a Prophetick Girl two hundred Years before. The Meaning of the Verses was, *That upon a Time a Prince and Lord of the World shou'd arise out of Spain*.

10. Ascend.

30. Ascending the Tribunal therefore, as if it were to sit upon the \* Manumissions, and the Images of several who had been condemn'd and murder'd by Nero being produc'd, and a Noble Boy whom he had sent for on purpose from the nearest of the *Balears* whither he was banish'd, standing beside him; he deplor'd the Condition of the Times, and being saluted *EMPEROR*, he declar'd, *He was only the Lieutenant of the Senate and People of Rome.* Having adjourn'd the Courts and proclaim'd a general Vacation, beside his Body of Veteranes consisting of one Legion, two Wings and three Cohorts, he rais'd Legions and Auxiliaries out of the Common People of the Provinces, and appointed a Number of the chief Men, who were most considerable for Age and Prudence, to be in the Nature of a Senate, to whom, as often as there was Occasion, all Cases of Importance shou'd be referr'd. He also chose some young Men of the Equestrian Order, who retaining the Use of the Gold Ring, shou'd be call'd † *Evocati*, and keep Guard before his Bed-Chamber instead of the ordinary Soldiers. He also sent forth Edicts thro' the Provinces, to engage all Persons universally in the Design, that every one might contribute all the Assistance he cou'd toward promoting the common Cause. Much about the same Time, as they were fortifying a Town which he chose to make the Seat of the War, they found a Ring, the Workmanship
 

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of

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\* The ordinary Time for these was the last Court Days, after the other Business was dispatch'd: But the Judge, if he thought proper, cou'd call them on before.

† Old Soldiers, who had serv'd the full Time, and were therefore discharg'd by Law. They had afterwards the Honour of being form'd into a Band (much like that of the Gentlemen Pensioners with us) to attend only on the Persons of the Generals. The young Knights indeed forfeited their Honour by this Employment, but Galba restor'd it to them.



of which was very antient, representing the Image of *Victory* with a Trophy, engraven upon the Gemm : And an *Alexandrian* Vessel came into \* *Dertosa*, laden with Arms, without a Pilot, and without any Mariner and Passenger ; that so no one might question the War which was undertaken was just and righteous, and favour'd by the Gods. But on a sudden the whole Affair was likely to have been disconcerted and broken. For as he was coming to the Camp, one of the Wings repenting their having chang'd their Oath of Fidelity, were offering to desert, and were hardly prevail'd on to continue firm in their Duty : And some Slaves which a Freedman of *Nero*, having first prepar'd them for such a Piece of Treachery, presented to him formerly, had certainly murder'd him as he was going to the Bath thro' a narrow Entry, unless upon their calling out to one another not to let the Opportunity slip, they had been examin'd what Opportunity they spoke of, and a Confession of the whole drawn from them by Torture.

11. In the midst of these Hazards and Interruptions happen'd also the Death of *Vindex*, which threw him into such a Consternation, that he was like one desperate, and was just on the Point of putting an End to his Life. But Messengers coming in from the City, when he understood by them that *Nero* was kill'd, and all Men had taken an Oath to himself, he laid down the Appellation of *LIEUTENANT* and assum'd the Style of *CÆSAR*, and set forward upon his March, clad in the † *Paludamentum*, and || with a Dagger hanging down from his Neck upon his Breast : Nor did he return to the Use of the Gown, till those who were contriving new Disturbances were suppress'd ; *Nymphidius Sabinus*, the Captain of the Pretorian Bands at *Rome*, and *Fonteius Capito*, a Lieutenant in *Germany*, and *Clodius Macer* in *Africk*.

12. Before

\* A Town in Catalonia, now Tortosa.

† The General's Military Robe.

|| A Badge of the Imperial Power.

12. Before he arriv'd at *Rome*, a Report was spread concerning his Cruelty and Avarice; because he had punish'd some Cities in *Spain* and *Gaul*, which did not surrender to him immediately, with excessive Tributes, and some with demolishing their Walls: And had put to Death several Supervisors and Procurators, with their Wives and Children; and melted down a Crown of Gold of fifteen Pounds Weight, which the People of *Tarraconna* had presented to him out of the antient Temple of *Jupiter*, and upon its wanting three Ounces in the Weight, had oblig'd them to make it good. This Report was confirm'd and increas'd as soon as he enter'd the City. For going to reduce to their first Condition some \* Marines whom *Nero* had erected into regular Soldiers, and they refusing to submit, and even stubbornly demanding back their Eagle and their Ensigns; he not only sent in a Body of Horse upon them to disperse them, but also decimated them. He likewise disbanded the Cohort of *Germans* which the *Cæsars* had form'd for a Guard, and which had shewn repeated Proofs of their Fidelity; and sent them back to their own Country without any Reward, under a Notion that they were more inclin'd to *Cn. Dolabella*, near whose Gardens they were quarter'd, than to himself. It was talk'd also in Ridicule, whether the Thing were true or false, that seeing a costly Supper plac'd upon his Table, he fetch'd a deep Sigh. His Steward in ordinary laying a State of his Accounts before him, he reach'd him a Plate of Pulse from Table for his Application and Diligence. And *Canus*, the Flute-Player, pleasing him wonderfully, he gave him five Denaries, which he took with his own Hands out of his † private Chest.

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13. His

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\* *Lat. Classarii, from Classis, a Fleet.*

† *It is in this Circumstance that the Expression of Galba's Avarice, and his extraordinary Affection for this Piper, consists:*

13. His Arrival therefore was not very grateful, as appear'd plainly at the first Publick Shew. For the *Attellanic* Actors beginning a noted Song,

*Venit, io, Simus à Villâ ;*

Behold, the griping Clown,  
Old Niggard's come to Town ;

the whole Body of the Spectators immediately catch'd it up and went on with the rest, repeating and acting it over several Times.

14. Thus he acquir'd the Empire with more Applause and Authority than he administer'd it ; and tho' he certainly gave many Proofs of a most excellent Prince, yet the People were not so much won by these as they were displeas'd by those Actions which he did amiss. He was govern'd by three Persons, whom, because they all liv'd together in his Palace, and were continually at his Elbow, they commonly call'd his Pedagogues. These were *T. Vincius*, his Lieutenant in Spain, a Man infinitely rapacious ; *Cornelius Laco*, who was advanc'd from being an Assessor to the Judges, to be Prefect of the Pretorian Bands, and was intolerable for his Arrogance and Slothe ; and *Icelus*, a Freedman, who had been honour'd a little while ago with a Gold Ring and the Cognomen of *Martianus*, and now stood Candidate for the highest Post belonging to the Equestrian Order. To these Men, whose Vices rag'd in different Manners, he so surrender'd himself and permitted them to abuse him, that he was scarcely consistent with himself : For sometimes he was severe and sparing, and at another time more remiss and negligent than became an Elected Prince and one of his Age.

He

*consists : He was pleas'd with him so extremely, that he gave him Money out of his own Purse, and yet he had not the Heart to make it more than five Denaries, or 4 s. 6 d.*



He condemn'd unheard, some illustrious Persons of each Order, upon the slightest Suspicion. He seldom bestow'd the Liberty of the City; and hardly allow'd the *Jus trium Liberorum* to one or two, and even to them only for a certain and determinate Time. And the Judges petitioning for a sixth Decury to be added, he not only refus'd it, but even depriv'd them of the Benefit granted them by *Claudius*, not to be summon'd to do Business in the Winter and at the Beginning of the Year.

15 It was thought that he design'd to limit the Offices of the Senators and Knights to the Space of two Years, and to confer them only on such as declined and refus'd them. Of *Nero's* Donatives, he allow'd the Persons who receiv'd them to keep but a tenth Part, employing fifty *Roman* Knights to claim and recover the Rest, with Orders, that if the Players or Wrestlers had sold what was given them, it shou'd be taken from the Purchasers, if the others had spent the Money and cou'd not refund it. On the contrary, there was nothing which he did not suffer his Companions and Freedmen to put to Sale or give away; as Customs, Privileges, Punishments of the Innocent, and Impunities of the Guilty. And the *Roman* People demanding *Halotus* and *Tigillinus* to be punish'd, these alone, the very worst of all *Nero's* Emis-saries, he protect'd; and more than that, he honour'd *Halotus* with a large Procuration, and took *Tigillinus's* Part so far, as to tax the People with downright Cruelty in an Edict.

16. Having by these Things render'd himself odious to almost all the Orders, the Soldiers in particular hated him mortally. For when their Officers had promis'd them a Donative larger than ordinary upon their Swearing to him in his Absence, he wou'd not ratify their Promise and make it good, but boasted, *It was his Custom to levy and not buy his Soldiers.* And upon the same Account they were exasperated against him in all Parts; and the Pretorian Guards he enrag'd, both by putting them in Fear and treating

them dishonourably ; for he made frequent Removals of them upon Suspicion, and as being *Nymphidius's* Creatures. But the Troops in the Upper Germany storm'd the loudest, for being defrauded of the Rewards of their Services against the *Gauls* and *Vindex*. These therefore were the first who ventur'd to break from their Obedience, and refus'd to take an Oath on the Kalends of *January*, unless in the Name of the Senate ; and immediately resolv'd to send Deputies to the Pretorian Bands, with Instructions to acquaint them, *That they were dissatisfy'd with the Emperor made in Spain, and wou'd chuse one themselves whom all the Army shou'd approve.*

17 As soon as he heard this, imagining he was not despis'd so much for his Old Age as for being without Issue, out of a Croud of Persons who were making their Salutations to him, he suddenly took hold on *Piso Frugi Licinianus*, a Noble and celebrated Youth, for whom he had formerly had a wonderful Esteem, and had always appointed Heir of his Goods and his Name, and styling him Son, he carry'd him to the Camp and adopted him before a full Assembly, even then also making no mention of a Donative ; by which he gave *M. Salvius Otho* an Opportunity the more easily to accomplish his Designs, within six Days after the Adoption.

18. The Event which befel him was portended by great and daily Prodigies from the Beginning. Victims being slain on the right Hand and on the left in all the Towns thro' which he march'd, a Bull was frighten'd with the Blow of the Ax, and \* breaking the Rope, ran full against his Chariot, and rearing up his Feet, smear'd him all over with his Blood ; and as he was alighting, a Spear-Man of his Guard  
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\* *The Victim's breaking loose and running away from the Sacrificers, was an ill Omen in general ; and the Bull's smearing Galba with his Blood, must signify he shou'd come to a violent End.*

(the People pressing in upon him) had like to have wounded him with his Lance. As he enter'd the City and afterwards the Palace, there was an Earthquake, and a certain Sound was heard like Lowing. There follow'd also some Omens yet more apparent. Out of all his Treasure, he had made Choice of a Bracelet set with Pearls and Precious Stones, to adorn his Image of *Fortune* at *Tusculum*; and suddenly, as if it deserv'd to be bestow'd in a nobler Place, he dedicated it to *Venus* in the *Capitol*; and the next Night he dream'd *Fortune* appear'd to him, complaining she was defrauded of the Present he design'd her, and threatening that she wou'd also take back from him what she had given him: At this, setting out for *Tusculum* in a Fright by Break of Day, to expiate his Dream, and dispatching some before to prepare the Rites; when he came, he found only a \* few glowing Ashes upon the Altar, and an † old Man in a black Garment standing by, and holding the Frankincense in a Glass Vessel, and the Wine in an Earthen Pot. It was observ'd also, that his Crown fell from his Head as he was sacrificing upon the Kalends of *January*. And as he was seeking an Auspice, the Birds X took Wing in Haste and flew away. Being to make a Speech to the Soldiers on the Day of the Adoption, his †† Field-Chair, thro' the Forgetfulness of the Officers, was not set according to Custom before the

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\* As if he might let alone the Sacrifice, it being to no purpose for him to make it.

† An Omen doubly ill; because the Man being old, was a Type of himself, and being also clad in Black, boded nothing but Ruine and Death: And the Frankincense and Wine being held by this miserable old Creature in poor ordinary Vessels, shew'd Galba wou'd be neglected and abandon'd.

X Before any Divination was made from their Feeding or Notes.

†† *Sella Castrensis*; for the Emperors had a Chair proper for particular Places: That in the Senate was call'd *Curulis*.



Tribunal; and in the Senate the Curule-Chair was likewise misplac'd.

19. Before he was kill'd, as he was sacrificing in the Morning, the *Aruspex* often warn'd him to beware of a Danger, and that Assassins were not far off. Soon after, he understood *Otho* had made himself Master of the Camp; and when most of his Friends advis'd him to go thither immediately, (because it was possible his Authority and Presence might have some Influence upon them) he resolv'd to do nothing but keep close, and secure himself by planting Guards of the Legionaries, who were all wavering and of a thousand Minds. Yet he put on a Linnen Breastplate, tho' he own'd it wou'd be of little Service against the Points of so many Swords. But being drawn to venture out by some false Reports, which the Conspirators had spread about on purpose to tempt him to come abroad, two or three rashly affirming the Business was over, that the Mutineers were quell'd, and the rest were advancing in a Body to congratulate him, all readily dispos'd to pay him the utmost Duty, to meet these he went forth with such Assurance, that a Soldier boasting he had kill'd *Otho*, † *By whose Order*, says he, and pass'd on to the *Forum*. And now the Horsemen, who were appointed to do the Murder, driving full Speed thro' the Streets, while the Croud fled in Confusion, when they perceiv'd him there at a Distance, made a Halt, and then galloping on again, came up and slew him, his Attendants deserting him and running away.

20. There are some who report, that at the first Rise of the Tumult he cry'd out, *What are ye doing, Fellow*

\* Made of Linnen strongly roll'd together several times.

† Very careless, without standing to enquire into the Truth of the Fact. Or as reprimanding the Soldier, as if the Insurrection of *Otho* was too inconsiderable to deserve such a Revenge.

*Fellow Soldiers? I am yours, and ye are mine; and also promis'd them a Donative. But most say, he offer'd his Throat to them, and bid them do as they were commanded, and strike if it wou'd be for the Publick Good. It is surprising that of those who were on the Spot, not one offer'd to assist the Emperor, and that all who were sent for slighted the Summons, except the Troop of Germans; who in Return of his late Kindness to them, because he had generously succour'd and reliev'd them when they were sick and harass'd, flew to his Aid; but not knowing the Ways, and so taking a wrong Path, they arriv'd too late; For he was first strangled at the Curtian Lake, and left there in that Condition, till a common Soldier, who was returning from a Distribution of Corn, threw his Burthen down and cut off his Head; and there being no Hair upon it for him to take hold by, he wrapp'd it up in his Lap, and afterwards thrusting his Thumb into the Mouth, brought it so to Octo, who giving it to the Rabble that follow'd the Baggage, they put it upon a Spear and carry'd it round the Camp in Derision, hallowing out at every turn, Galba, cupidè fruaris ætate tuâ; Thou art a handsome old Fellow, Galba; Prith.e take a Pride in thy Age. What chiefly provok'd them to this Scoff, was, that a few Days before he appear'd in Publick, some Body commending his Person as very florid yet and lusty, he answer'd,*

*Ἐν μοῖ μὲν ὁ ἔμπροσθεν ὄσιν.*

*My Strength is firm and undiminish'd yet.*

The Freedman of *Patrobius Neronianus* purchasing the Head of these Fellows for a hundred Pieces of Gold, threw it into the Place where his Lord had been executed by the Command of *Galba*. But at last his Steward *Argius* gave this and the Remainder of the Trunk a Burial in his own Gardens, by the *Aurelian* Way.

21. He was of a just Stature, very bald on the Head; his Eyes were blue, his Nose hooked, and his Hands and Feet distorted by Pains in the Joints, so that he cou'd not wear a Shoe, nor turn over, or even hold a Book. His Flesh also grew swelling out on his right Side, and hung down in such a Lump, that it cou'd hardly be kept up with a Swathe.

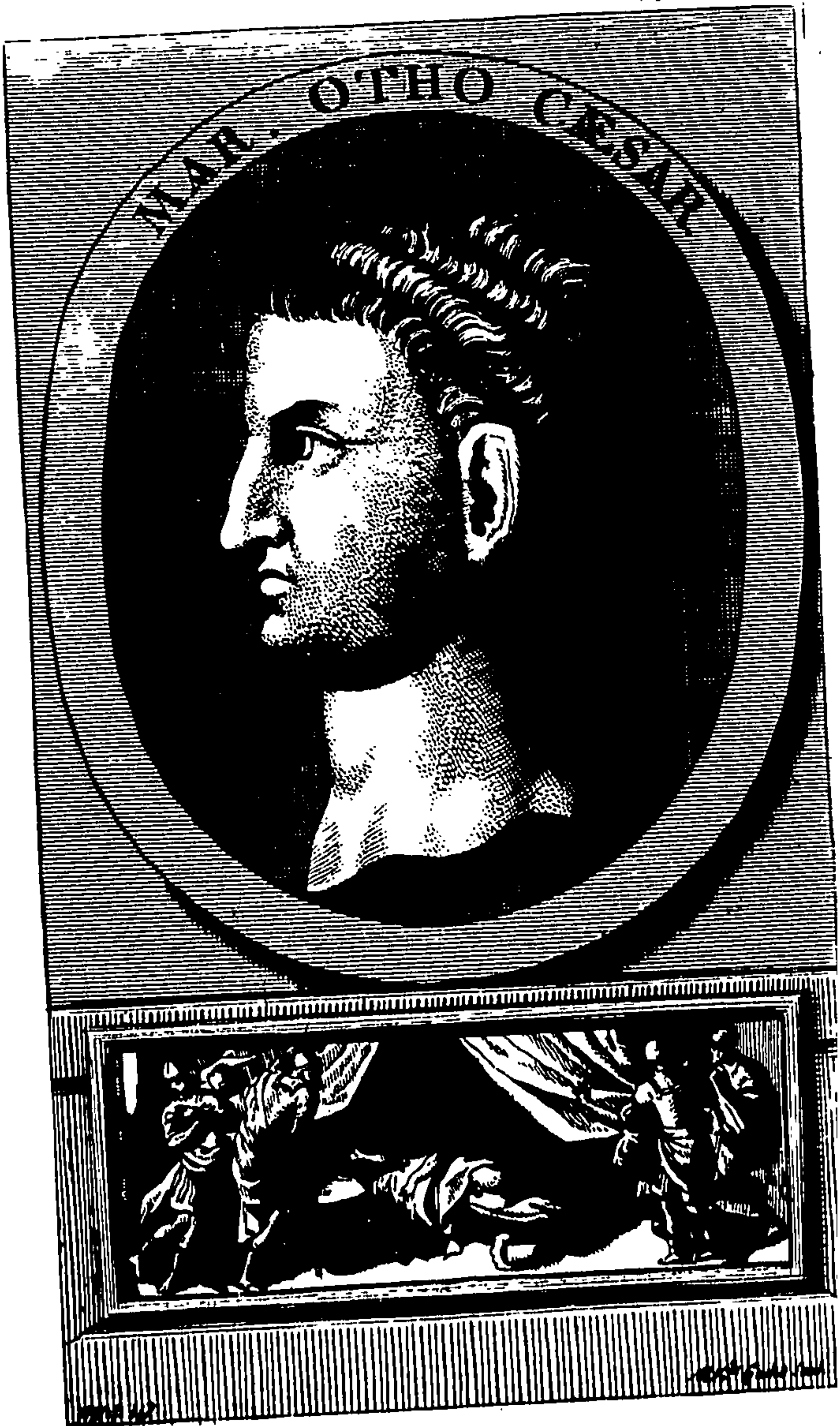
22. He is said to have been a very large Eater, having Victuals brought him even in the Winter-time before it was Light; and at Supper he fed extravagantly, and made such Havock, that he order'd his Leavings to be gather'd up in a Heap and dealt among the Waiters. In his Lust he was most inclin'd to Males, yet fancying such only as were very robust and overgrown. They say that in *Spain*, when *Icelus*, one of his old Catamites, brought him the News of *Nero's* Death, he not only kiss'd him furiously before the Company, but even solicited him to retire, and took him aside without Delay.

23. He perish'd in the seventy-third Year of his Age and the seventh Month of his Reign. As soon as the Times wou'd bear it, the Senate decreed him a Statue to be erected on a Pillar call'd \* *Rostrata*, in that Part of the *Forum* where he was slain. But *Vespasian* abolish'd the Decree, because he fancy'd *Galba* had sent some from *Spain* into *Judea* to assassinate him.

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\* From *Rostrum*, the Beak of a Ship, with the Figure of which it was adorn'd. This Kind of Pillar was first decreed to *Duilius* for a Victory at Sea.







THE  
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*Marcus Salvius Otho.*



THE Ancestors of *Otho* came from the Town \* *Ferentium*, and were descended of an antient and honourable Family, and from the Princes of *Etruria*. His Grandfather *M. Salvius Otho*, whose Father was a Roman Knight, but his Mother of mean Condition, (it being uncertain whether she was even so much as a Freewoman) was made a Senator by the Favour of *Livia Augusta*, in whose House he was bred up, but never rose above the Pretorship. His Father *L. Otho* was nobly born on his Mother's Side, and had many and great Relations; and was so highly in Grace with *Tiberius* the Emperor, and so extremely like him in the Face, that several thought he was begotten by him. The City-Offices, the Proconsulate of *Asia*, and several extraordinary Commissions which he sustain'd, he executed with great Severity. In *Illyricum* also he adventur'd

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\* A Town of *Etruria*.

ventur'd to put to Death some Soldiers, because in *\* Camillus's* Insurrection they repented their engaging in it, and murder'd their Chiefs, as Authors of the Revolt against *Claudius*, and even executed them at the † Head of the Camp, and in his own Presence, tho' he knew *Claudius* had promoted them to a more honourable Rank upon that Account. By which Action, as he heighten'd his Glory, so he impair'd his Interest with *Claudius*; but he soon regain'd it; by discovering the Treachery of a *Roman* Knight, who, his own Slaves inform'd him, was designing to murder the Emperor; the Senate decreed him an Honour very rarely granted, a Statue in the Palace; and *Claudius* advanc'd him to the Order of Patricians, and praising him in the most ample Expressions, added, *Vir, quo meliores liberos habere ne opto quidem; He is a Man, than whom I never desire to have better Children of my own.* By *Albia Terentia*, a Woman of Quality, he had two Sons, *L. Titianus* and *Marcus* the younger, who bore his own Cognomen; and a Daughter, whom before she was marriageable he espous'd to *Drusus* the Son of *Germanicus*.

2. *Otho* the Emperor was born the †† fourth of the Kalends of May, *Camillus Arruntius* and *Domitius Aenobarbus* being Consuls. He was extravagant and impudent from his Youth, so that his Father was often oblig'd to correct him with the X Scourge. 'Tis said he us'd also to strol about in the Night, and laying hold on any feeble or drunken Persons he met, pull'd off his Gown, and tumbling them into it, toss'd them into the Air. After his Father's Death, he made his Application to a Freedwoman in

\* See p. 318.

† The Custom was to have the Execution without the Camp, and in the Presence of the Centurion only, and not of the General.

†† April the 27th.

X The Punishment of a Slave.



in great Favour at Court ; and to recommend himself to her the more effectually, he pretended a wonderful Passion for her, tho' she was old and almost decrepit. By her Means he insinuated himself into Nero, and easily held the first Place among his Friends, by the Agreement of their Manners, and, as some report, by a mutual Prostitution. And so extraordinary was his Power, that having bargain'd with a Consular Man who was condemn'd for Bribery, to indemnifie him for a large Premium, he had the Confidence to bring him into the Senate to give them Thanks, before he had procur'd him to be pronounc'd clear in Law, and restor'd to the Privilege of the House.

3. Being admitted into all Nero's Counsels and Secrets, the very Day that he had appointed for the Murder of his Mother, he entertain'd them both with a very splendid Treat, to cover the Design the better, and lay all Suspicion asleep. *Poppæa Sabina*, who was at that Time his Mistress, being taken from her Husband by Nero and intrusted with him, he receiv'd her into his House with the Form of a Marriage. Nor was he content to betray his Trust by engaging her Affections to himself, but he lov'd her so excessively, that he cou'd not bear with Patience even Nero to be his Rival. It is generally believ'd also, that he not only rejected the Officers who were sent to bring her away to the Emperor, but that he even shut the Door against him when he came in Person to demand the Pledge, and kept him standing without, mixing Threatnings and Intreaties in vain. The Marriage was therefore dissolv'd, and he was sent away to be Lieutenant in *Lusitania* ; which was thought a sufficient Resentment, because a severer Animadversion might have expos'd the whole Intrigue. Yet for all this it was plain it took Air, by this Distich :

*Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exsul honore ?  
Uxoris machus caeperat esse suæ.*

You

You ask why *Otho* hastily was sent,  
 With seeming Honour, into Banishment :  
 'Tis a strange Riddle, never heard before,  
 He fought to make his own dear Wife a Whore.

He govern'd the Province in Quality of Questor for ten Years, with uncommon Moderation and Abstinence.

4. But an Opportunity offering it self for Revenge, he first of all assisted *Galba* in his Designs, and at the same Moment entertain'd Hopes himself also of the Empire ; very much from the Condition of the Times, but much more from the Assurances of *Seleucus* the Astrologer, who, as he had formerly declar'd he shou'd survive *Nero*, came to him now unexpectedly, and promis'd in a little while he should come to be Emperor. He neglected therefore no manner of Insinuation and Address towards any one ; and whenever he made a Supper for *Galba*, he gave Gold, Man by Man, among the Guards who were then upon Duty, and ingratiated himself no less with the rest of the Soldiers in another Way. One of them having a Controversy with his Neighbour concerning the Limits of their Land, he bought the Field in Dispute and gave it to the Soldier ; so that there was scarcely a Man among them now, but thought and openly said he was the only Person who was worthy to succeed to the Empire.

5. He was once in Hopes he shou'd be adopted by *Galba*, and expected it every Day ; but after *Piso* was preferr'd, he despair'd of it, and betook himself to Force ; the Multitude of his Debts also augmenting the Perplexity and Disturbance of his Mind. For he made no Scruple to own, *That unless he could make himself Emperor, he could not stand it ; and that it was all one to him, to perish by his Enemies in the Field, or by his Creditors in the Forum.* He had squeez'd a \* Million of  
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\* 43750 Livres.

of Sesterces, a few Days before, out of a Slave of *Cæsar's* for the Grant of a Stewardship which he procur'd for him ; and this Supply enabled him to carry on so daring an Enterprize. At first the Thing was entrusted to five Spear-Men of the Guard, and afterwards to ten, each of whom produc'd two more. He gave them all \* ten Sesterces in Hand, and promis'd them fifty more. These proceeded to sollicite several others ; yet not many, because they made no Question but Numbers enough wou'd join them when the Design came to be put in Execution.

6. He was thinking to seize the Camp, immediately after *Piso's* Adoption, and set upon *Galba* as he was at Supper in the Palace ; but in Respect to the Cohort which was then upon the Guard, he desisted, because it might bring them under too great an Odium, since this was the same as had formerly done Duty when *Caius* was murder'd and *Nero* deserted. The rest of the intermediate Time he was restrain'd from Action by Religious Omens and by *Seleucus*. But the Day being fix'd, and Notice given to his Associates to conceal themselves in the *Forum* under the Temple of *Saturn* at the Golden † Pillar of Miles, he saluted *Galba* in the Morning ; and receiving a Kiss from him in Return, according to Custom, he attended him at the Sacrifice, and so over-heard the Predictions of the *Aruspex*. And now his Freedman bringing him Word the Workmen were ready, which was the Signal agreed on, he withdrew as if he was going to view a House to be sold, and ran thro' a Back-Gate of the Palace to the Place of Rendezvous. Others say, he pretended to be taken with a Fit of an Ague, and order'd those who were by, to make that Excuse for him if he was enquir'd after. Shutting himself

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\* The larger Sesterce, 437 Livres.

† A Pillar from which the Miles of the High Roads of Italy were reckon'd, and upon which the Distances of Places were inscrib'd.



himself up then in a \* Woman's Litter, he set out in all Haste for the Camp; but the Bearers being tir'd on the Way, he came out, and began to ply his Feet, when his Shoe loosening, forc'd him to stop: At last, to shorten all Delays, those who were about him hoisted him upon their Shoulders, and saluting him EMPEROR, brought him † amid their joyful Acclamations and drawn Swords, to the Head of the Camp, all they met falling in with them, as if they had been privy to the whole Design, and Accomplices in it. And now he sent some to dispatch Galba and Piso; and to engage the Hearts of the Soldiers the more strongly by his Promises, the chief Part of his Speech to them was, †† *That he shou'd desire no more for his own Share, than they shou'd think fit to leave him.*

7. Toward the Close of the Day he enter'd the Senate, and acquainted them in few Words with what had pass'd; representing as if he had been dragg'd from his private Employment in the Forum, and oblig'd by Force to accept the Empire, but that he wou'd govern according to the common Approbation of all Men; and after this he proceeded to the Palace. And when beside the other Applauses of those who congratulated and flatter'd him, he was call'd Nero by the meanest of the People, he express'd no Dislike of it: Nay, some have said, that in his first *Diploma's* and Letters to the Presidents of the Provinces, he added the *Cognomen* of Nero. It is certain he suffer'd Nero's Images and Statues to be replac'd, and restor'd his Procurators and Freedmen to their

\* Because this was cover'd up close, to prevent the Person in it from being seen.

† Inter faustas acclamationes strictosq; gladios devenit. This Way of coupling together Actions and Things to one Verb, has a Sort of Impropriety in it.

†† Because he saw how much Galba had disgusted them by his Avarice.

their Employments. Nor did he sign any Orders more readily, than one for X five hundred Millions of Sesterces for finishing the \* *Golden Lodging*. That Night being frighten'd in his Sleep, 'tis said, he groan'd piteously; and finding himself, upon the coming in of some who ran thither at the Noise, lying on the Ground before the Bed, he endeavour'd, in great Amazement by all sorts of Expiations to atone the Ghost of *Galba*, which he perceiv'd had fallen upon him and thrown him out of Bed; and that the next Day also, a Storm of Wind blowing him down as he was making his Auguries, he mutter'd to himself several times,

Τί γάρ μοι καὶ μακροῖς αὐλοῖς?

\* What have I, Wretch, with Holy Rites to do?

8. About

X 2187500 *Livres*.

\* Page 373.

\* *The Greek is literally, What have I to do with long Pipes? viz. such as were employ'd in Sacrifices or Religious Worship. Otho by this plainly condemns himself for presuming to meddle with the Rites of Religion, while he had the Guilt of Murder lying upon him. The Pollution of shedding Human Blood even in a lawful War, and much more unjustly, was a Natural Notion, and was common to the Jews and Pagans.*

Me bello è tanto digressum, & cæde recenti  
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo  
Abluero. —————

*Virg.*

*In me 'tis impious Holy Things to bear,  
Red as I am with Slaughter, new from War;  
Till in some living Stream I purge the Guilt  
Of dire Debate, and Blood in Battel spilt.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

8. About the same Time the Troops in *Germany* took an Oath to *Vitellius*, which as soon as he understood, he mov'd the Senate to dispatch Officers to them, to notify that a Prince was already elected, and to persuade them to Peace and Concord: And yet by Messengers and Letters he offer'd *Vitellius* to become his Partner in the Empire, and his Son-in-Law. But the War being unavoidable, and the Captains and Forces *Vitellius* had sent before, advancing, he had a Proof of the Bravery and Fidelity of the Pretorian Bands, almost to the Destruction of the Senatorian Order. For the Marines being order'd to embark a Quantity of Arms to be transported to another Place, as they were removing them out of the Camp by Night, some of the Pretorian Troops suspecting it to be Treachery, rais'd an Alarm; and on a sudden they all ran in a Body, without any certain Leader, to the Palace, asking Leave to put the Senate to the Sword; and the Tribunes who endeavour'd to resist them, being beat back and some of them slain, they broke in, bloody as they were, into *Otho's* Banqueting-Room, demanding where the Emperor was, and wou'd not desist till they saw him. He began his Expedition with great Diligence, but with too much Precipitation; taking no Care of the Religious Rites; and the † Sacred Shields not being replac'd in the Temple after the Procession, which was anciently esteem'd as ill-boding. It was undertaken also upon the very Day that the Worshipers of the Mother of the Gods began their Lamentations and Cries, and even under the most inauspicious

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† *The Ancilia, which Numa feign'd were brought down from Heaven, a Voice also declaring at the same time, the City shou'd always prosper while they were preserv'd. They were carry'd in a solemn Procession at the Beginning of March, and were hung up again in the Temple at the End of the same Month: And till this Ceremony was finish'd, it was thought unlawful to undertake any Publick Action.*





*The Ancilia.*

*A. P. Croche-Soul*

*p. 426.*

cious Omens. For the Victims he flew to Father † *Dus* prov'd favourable, whereas in such a Sacrifice it was more desirable to have the Entrails of the Beasts prove otherwise: And at his first setting out he was stopp'd by an Inundation of the *Tiber*; and twenty Miles from the City, he found his Way block'd up by the Ruines of some Buildings that were fallen down.

9. And tho' all agreed it was his Interest to draw out the War into Length, the Enemy being press'd with Hunger, and embarrass'd by the Streightness of the Ways, yet with equal Temerity he resolv'd to take the first Opportunity to fight; whether he was impatient of being held longer in Pain, and in hope he might be able to give them a considerable Defeat before *Vitellius* came up, or whether he was unable to withstand the Ardour of the Soldiers, who earnestly demanded a Battel. He was not in the Engagement himself, but staid behind at \* *Brixillum*. In three small Encounters at the *Alps*, near *Placentia*, and at the Place call'd || *Castor's*, he had the Victory; but in the last and the greatest, which was at †† *Bedriacum*, he was overcome by X Treachery. For there being some Hope of a Conference given, the Soldiers came out of their Lines as if a Truce had been agreed to, when on a sudden, while they were in the very Act of mutual Salutation, they were oblig'd to fight. Upon this he immediately determin'd to finish his Life, rather (as several are of Opinion, and justly) out of Shame, that he might  
not

† *The Infernal God. The Victims to him proving favourable, signify'd, he accepted the Sacrifice, and consequently that he should die.*

\* *Now Brisello in the Dukedom of Modena.*

|| *Twelve Miles from Cremona.*

†† *A Town between Cremona and Verona, now Labina.*

X *The Story is at large in Tacitus, Hist. 2.*

not persist to assert his own Dominion at the Hazard of the Publick, and of the Lives of so many Men, than from any Despair or Diffidence of his Forces: For the Troops he had reserv'd against a second Risque, were yet entire and fresh, and others were also advancing to his Assistance from *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Mæsia*; nor were those who were beaten so dispirited, as not to offer of themselves to run any Danger alone to revenge their late Disgrace.

10. In this Battel was present my Father *Suctonius Lenis*, in Quality of a \* *Tribunus Angusticlavus* of the tenth Legion. He us'd often to say, that *Otho*, even while he was a Private Man, had such an Abhorrence of Civil Wars, that some Body happening once at Table to mention the End of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he fell a trembling; and that he would never have engag'd against *Galba*, if he had not been satisfy'd he cou'd not accomplish his Point without a War: That he was now taught to despise Life by the Example of a Common Soldier, who bringing the News of the Defeat, when none believ'd him, but either accus'd him of a Lye or Cowardise, as if he had run away out of the Battel, he threw himself upon his Sword before *Otho's* Feet, who, my Father said, cry'd out at the Sight, *He wou'd no more expose such brave and deserving Men to Danger*. Advising his Brother therefore, and his Brother's Son, and all his Friends, to provide for their Safety as well as they cou'd, after he had embrac'd and kiss'd them, he sent them away; and going aside, wrote a consolatory Letter to his Sister, and another to *Messallina*, the Wife of *Nero*, whom he intended to marry, recommending to her the Care of his Reliques and his Memory. Then he burnt the Letters and Papers that were in his Hands, lest they shou'd bring any into Trouble or Blame

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\* *A Tribune of the Equestrian Order, For the Latus Clavus was worne by the Senators, and the Angustus Clavus by the Knights.*



Blame with the Conqueror ; and divided what Money he had, among his Domesticks.

11. Being thus prepar'd, and just ready to give the fatal Blow, a Tumult arose while he delay'd ; and understanding that the Soldiers seiz'd those who were beginning to steal away, and kept them back as Deserters ; *Let us then*, said he, *add this Night to our Life*, which were his very Words ; and forbid them to offer Violence to any one, and left the Door of his Chamber open till late at Night, to allow all the Liberty of coming in to him that wou'd. After this he quench'd his Thirst with a Draught of cold Water ; and taking up two Daggers, try'd the Edge of both ; and laying one under his Pillow, he fasten'd his Door, and fell into a sound Sleep. Toward the Morning he wak'd, and with one Blow stabb'd himself below the left Pap ; and his Attendants rushing in at the first Groan, sometimes he shew'd them the Wound, and sometimes conceal'd it, and so expir'd ; and his Funerals, as he had order'd, were X dispatch'd out of hand. He dy'd in the Thirty-eighth Year of his Age, and the Ninety-fifth Day of his Reign.

12. A Courage in *Otho* like this, was agreeable neither to his Person nor Garb. For he is reported to have been of a moderate Stature, splay-footed, and bandy-leg'd ; as nice and delicate almost as a Woman ; for the Hairs that grew upon his Body he pull'd up by the Root ; and the Hair of his Head being very thin, he wore a Border, which was fitted so exactly, and sat so close, that it cou'd not be known. He us'd to shave his Face every  
Day,

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X To prevent his Body's falling into the Enemy's Hands, and suffering the same Insults and abuses he had before offer'd to Galba's.

Day, and to daub it over with a || Paste made of soak'd Bread; which he began to do at the first Coming of the Hair, to prevent his having a Beard. He often celebrated the Rites of *Isis* in Publick, clad in a Religious Garment of Linnen. And hence, I believe, it was that his Death being so little of a Piece with his Life, appear'd the more surprising. Many of the Soldiers that were present kiss'd his Hands and Feet, as he lay, weeping plentifully, and styling him *A most Valiant Man, and their only Emperor*, and slew themselves also not far from his Funeral Pile; and many who were absent, when they receiv'd the News, drew their Swords and fought together till they kill'd one another, for Grief. In a Word, most Men, tho' they hated him while he was living, magnify'd and prais'd him dead; so that it was commonly said, *he slew Galba not so much for the sake of obtaining the Empire, as of restoring the Liberty of the Republick.*

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|| *Juvenal derides him for this Effeminacy:*

*Nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam, &c.*

*Sat. 2.*

*Galba to kill he thought a Gen'ral's Part,  
But, as a Courtier, us'd the nicest Art  
To save his Skin from Tan; and therefore spread  
Upon his Face a Paste of moist'n'd Bread.*

T H E







THE  
L I F E  
O F  
*AULUS VITELLIUS.*



THE Original of the *Vitellii* is reported by several with very great Diversity: by some, as Antient and Noble; and by others, as new and obscure, and even base. I should be apt to imagine Reports so extremely different might be owing to the Flatterers and to the Detracters of *Vitellius* the Emperor, if there had not been a Disagreement some Time before also concerning the Condition of the Family. There is a small Treatise extant of *Q. Eulogius* to *Q. Vitellius*, *Augustus's* Questor, in which he affirms the *Vitellii* were descended from \* *Faunus*, King of the *Aborigines* and *Vitellia*,

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\* *The third King of the Aborigines, the most antient People of Italy.*

— *Fauno Picus Pater,isque Parentem, &c. Virg.*

*But Picus came from Faunus; Faunus drew  
His Birth from Saturn, if Records be true.*

*Mr. Dryden.*

*Vitellia*, who was worshipp'd in several Places for a Goddess, and that they reign'd over all *Latium*; the remaining Branch of whom remov'd from the *Sabines* to *Rome*, and were enroll'd among the *Patricians*; that some Monuments of the Line remain'd a long Time, as the *Vitellian* Way reaching from † *Janiculum* to the Sea, and a Colony of the same Name, which they desir'd might be committed to a Band form'd of their House, to defend it against the *Æquicoli*. And a Garrison being sent into *Apulia* in the Time of the *Samnitic* War, some of the *Vitellii* settled at *Nuceria*; the Posterity of whom, after a long Interval, came back to the City, and were restor'd to the Senatorian Order. On the contrary, several say a Freedman was the Founder of the Line. But *Cassius Severus*, and others, make him to be a Botcher; whose Son having rais'd an Estate by redeeming forfeited Goods, and by Informations, begat a *Roman* Knight upon a Prostitute, the Daughter of one *Antiochus* a Baker. But these inconsistent Reports I leave undetermin'd.

2. *P. Vitellius* of *Nuceria*, whether he was of an antient Family, or of ignominious Parents and Ancestors, was certainly a *Roman* Knight and Procurator to *Augustus*, and left four Sons of considerable Quality, of the same Cognomen, and only different in their *Prænomena*, as *Aulus*, *Quintus*, *Publius* and *Lucius*  
*Aulus*

† A Town of Italy, said to be built by *Janus*. It was so antient that even in *Evander's* Time *Virgil* makes it to have been in Ruines.

Hæc duo præterea disjectis Oppida muris, &c.

*Æn.* 8

He saw two Heaps of Ruines; once they stood  
 Two stately Towns on either side the Flood;  
*Saturnia's* and *Janicula's* Remains,  
 And either Place the Founder's Name retains.

Mr. Dryden

*Aulus* dy'd in the Consulship, which he began with *Domitius* the Father of *Nero Caesar*. He was very luxurious, and much reflected on for the extravagant Magnificence of his Banquets. *Quintus*, upon *Tiberius's* causing those Senators who were least qualify'd, to be singled out and degraded, lost his Rank, and was reduc'd to the Condition of a Private Man. *Publius* was the intimate Companion of *Germanicus*, and accus'd *Cn. Piso*, his implacable Enemy and Murderer, and condemn'd him; and after he had sustain'd the Honour of the Preture, was arrested among the Accomplices of *Sejanus*, and being committed to the Custody of his Brother, open'd his Veins with a Penknife; and having suffer'd himself to be cur'd, rather in Compliance with the Intreaties of his Friends, than from an Aversion to Death, he fell sick while he was thus in Custody, and dy'd. *Lucius* being after the Consulate made Governor of *Syria*, by a masterly Address and Conduct won *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*, not only to come to an Interview, but even to \* worship the Ensigns of the Legions. After this, beside two ordinary Consulships, he held the Censorship with *Claudius* when he was Emperor; and in his Absence on his *Britannick* Expedition, administer'd the Empire. He was an innocent and industrious Man, but infamous for Love of a Freedwoman, with whose Spittle mix'd with Honey, he us'd to anoint his Temples and Jaws for a Cure, and that not seldom or in private, but daily and in publick. Having a wonderful Genius at Flattery, he first introduc'd the Custom of † adoring *Caius Caesar* as a God; for he wou'd not presume to approach him at his Return from *Syria*, but with his Head veil'd, and ‡ turning himself a-

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bout,

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\* This was doing Homage to the Romans.

† Victor says, he did this to save his Life, which was in Danger from Caligula.

‡ An Act of Adoration with the Romans.



bout, fell prostrate at his Feet. And that he might neglect no Arts to insinuate himself into *Claudius*, who was manag'd by his Wives and Freedmen, he begg'd of *Messallina* as the most valuable Favour in the World, that she wou'd permit him to take off her Shoes; and when she allow'd him, he catch'd away her Right Shoe, and kept it, and us'd to carry it always about him between his Gown and his Tunic, and frequently to pull it out and kiss it. He worshipp'd Golden Images of *Narcissus* and *Pallas* among his *Lares*; and perpetually added, *Sæpe facias, Mayst thou often do the same*, when he congratulated *Claudius* at his holding the Secular Games.

3. He dy'd of a Palsy, the next Day after he was taken, leaving behind him two Sons, by *Servilia*, a Woman of great Probity and of no mean Descent, whom he liv'd to see Consuls, both of them in the same Year, which was shar'd wholly between them, the younger succeeding the elder for six Months. When he was dead, the Senate honour'd him with a Publick Funeral, and a Statue at the *Rostra* with this Inscription, *PIETATIS IMMOBILIS ERGA PRINCIPEM*, Of immoveable Fidelity towards his Prince. *Aulus Vitellius* the Emperor, the Son of *Lucius*, was born the \* eighth of the Kalends of *October*, or, as others say, the seventh of the Ides of *September*, *Drusus Cæsar* and *Norbanus Flaccus* being Consuls. His Parents were so frighten'd at his Nativity, which was foretold by the Astrologers, that his Father, while he liv'd, did all he cou'd to prevent his having the Charge of a Province committed to him; and his Mother, as soon as she heard he was sent to the Legions and was saluted *EMPEROR*, lamented him as lost for ever. His Childhood, and the former Part of his Youth, he pass'd at *Capreæ*, among the Catamites of *Tiberius*, and always went by the infamous Name of the *Spintria*; and the Merit of the Comeliness

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\* September 23.

Comeliness of his Body was thought to be the first Occasion of his Father's Promotion.

4. As he was plung'd in all manner of Lewdness in the succeeding Part of his Age, he held the chief Place at Court; being the Darling of *Caius* for his Charioteering, and of *Claudius* for his Love of the Dye. But he was more in Grace with *Nero*, as well for both those Qualifications, as because while he presided once at the *Ilronian* Games, *Nero* having a great Ambition to dispute the Prize with the Harpers, and tho' all eagerly desir'd him to come on, not having the Resolution to appear, but slipping out of the Theatre, he went after him as if he had been sent by the whole Assembly, who wou'd take no Denial, and drew him back, and brought him upon the Stage as if he had been overcome by the Importunities of the People.

5. By the Indulgence of three Princes, being not only ennobled with Honours, but with the principal Priesthoods also, he afterwards executed the Proconsulate of *Africa* and the Care of the Publick Works, with a very different Conduct and Reputation. In the Province for two Years together he acted with singular Innocence, when he was Lieutenant to his Brother who succeeded him. But in his City-Office he is reported to have rifled the Gifts and Ornaments of the Temples, and to have chang'd others, substituting Pewter and Copper in the Room of Gold and Silver.

6. He marry'd *Petronia*, the Daughter of a Consular Man, by whom he had his Son *Petronianus*, who was blind in one of his Eyes; and being appointed her Heir by his Mother upon Condition he was \* discharg'd from the Dominion of his Father, he set him free, and in a short Time, as it is believ'd, destroy'd him, pretending he had a Design to murder

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\* Because else he cou'd not claim the Legacy in Law, but the Right to it wou'd have been in his Father.

der him, and that out of Remorse he drank the Poyson himself which he had prepar'd for the Deed. He afterwards marry'd *Galeria Fundana*, whose Father had been Pretor. He had Children of both Sexes by her; but the Son by a violent Stammering was render'd almost a Mute, and had scarcely any Use of his Tongue.

7. He was sent into the lower *Germany* by *Galba*, contrary to the Opinion of most Men; but he was assisted, 'tis thought, by the Influence of *T. Vinnius*, who had a very great Power at the Time, and to whom he had recommended himself before by favouring the same † Faction with him. Unless *Galba* had this Thought in himself, that none were less to be fear'd than those whose only Care is their Gut, and that in the Produce of a whole Province he wou'd be able to live at his Heart's Desire, and satisfy his enormous Appetite; so that any one might see, he was chosen rather out of Contempt than Favour. It is certain, he had not Money to defray the Charges of his Journey, and was in so low a Condition, that having privately lodg'd his Wife and Children, whom he left behind him at *Rome*, in a hir'd Chamber, he let out his House for the remaining Part of the Year, and pawn'd a large Pearl which he took out of his Mother's Ear to raise a Summ for his Expence. A Croud of Creditors besetting his Door, and detaining him, and among them the \* *Sinuessans* and \* *Formians*, whose Revenues he had imbezzled, he had no other Way to repel them, than by making them afraid he shou'd impeach them upon the Law concerning || Calumny.

For

† Of the Charioteers in the Circus.

\* The People of *Sinuessa* and *Formia*, two Towns formerly in *Campania*.

|| i. e. He wou'd prosecute them for abusive Language, and for insulting him, as appears by the following Example.



For a certain Freedman having formerly demanded a Debt of him something roughly, he immediately commenc'd a Suit against him for kicking him, and extorted \* fifty Sesterces out of him before he withdrew the Action. At his Arrival the Army, which was disaffected to their Prince, and dispos'd to a Change, receiv'd him gladly and with Hands held up to Heaven, as one sent them by the Gods, the Son of a Man thrice Consul, and in the Vigor of his Age, and of an easy and profuse Disposition. This old Opinion of him *Vitellius* had encreas'd by several fresh Instances, kissing, all along upon the Road, every common Soldier he met, and mingling with the Mule-Drivers and ordinary Travellers in the Inns and Stables, and being extravagantly civil and obliging to them, asking them every one in the Morning familiarly whether they had got their Breakfast, and then belching to shew them he had taken care to eat his own.

8. Upon his Entering the Camp, he deny'd no Man any Request he made him ; and of his own Motion took off the † Notes of Ignominy which were set upon some, excus'd the Guilty from wearing the Criminal || Habit, and releas'd the Condemn'd from their X Punishments. Wherefore

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\* The greater Sesterce, 2185 Livres.

† These Punishments being all inflict'd upon the Soldiers in the Camp, must be understood in a Military Sense and not in a Civil. The Notes of Ignominy may signify a Soldier's being degraded to a meaner Rank, or put under a Sentence of Disgrace, or expos'd to the whole Camp in some dishonourable Posture, like those mention'd p. 76.

|| A dirty dark-colour'd Garment, with their Hair also uncomb'd and growing wild.

X Scourging, or some other Corporal Punishment. Here also may be observ'd the Impropriety of applying one Verb to several Nouns in a different Sense ; for the Latin is, *Ignominiosis Notas, reis sordes, damnosis supplicia demsit.*

a Month was scarcely past, but without any Regard to the \* Day or Time, when it was now Evening the Soldiers on a sudden snatch'd him out of his Chamber in his Undress as he was, and saluted him EMPEROR; and being carry'd round thro' the principal Towns, holding † Julius's Sword drawn in his Hand, which was taken out of the Temple of *Mars*, and deliver'd him by some body at his first Proclamation, before he return'd to his Tent, it was all in a Blaze, the Chimney being on fire; and when every one was concern'd at it as an improsperous Omen, *Be of good Cheer*, says he, *it shines upon us*; which was all the Speech he made to the Soldiers. The Army of the Upper Province, which had before revolted from *Galba* to the Senate, also declaring on his Side, he readily assum'd the Cognomen of GERMANICUS, which was offer'd him by all; but that of AUGUSTUS he defer'd, and always refus'd that of CÆSAR.

9 As soon as he heard of *Galba's* Murder, he settled the Affairs of *Germany*, and divided the Forces into two Bodies, one of which was to be sent before against *Otho*, and the other he was to bring up himself. The †† Party which advanc'd before, had a fortunate Omen; for an Eagle flew on a sudden from the right Wing, and having rounded the Ensigns, proceeded leisurely before them in their March. On the contrary, when he mov'd on with his own Division,

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\* Whether lucky or unfortunate for undertaking any Action of Importance, according to the endless Superstition of the Heathen.

† Julius Cæsar's.

†† To signify they shou'd indeed prevail against *Otho*, deprive him of the Empire (the Ensign of which was the Eagle,) and bring upon him the Punishment which he deserv'd for murdering *Galba*. But the ill Omens which occur'd to the Troops *Vitellius* led on in Person, shew'd he shou'd be very unhappy in his Undertaking.

vision, his Statues on Horseback, which were erected to him in several Places, had the Legs broken in an Instant and \* fell down; and the † Laurel, with which he had crown'd himself with great Solemnity, dropp'd off into the Stream; and as he was sitting in Judgment at *Vienna*, a Cock perch'd || first upon his Shoulder, and then upon his Head. The Event was answerable to these Portents; for the Empire which his Lieutenants put him in Possession of, he was not able to retain himself.

10. The Victory at *Bedriacum*, and the Death of *Otho*, he heard of while he was yet in *Gaul*; and immediately by one Edict he disbanded all the Pretorian Cohorts, as having shewn a most pernicious Example, and commanded them to deliver up their Arms to the Tribunes. But a hundred and twenty of them, whose Petitions fell into his Hands, which they had presented to *Otho*, demanding a Reward for the Service they did in killing *Galba*, he order'd to be search'd after and put to Death. A brave and honourable Action, and which wou'd have given Hopes of his proving an admirable Prince, if the rest of his Deportment had not been more according to his natural Temper and his former Courie of Life, than to the Majesty of the Empire. For beginning his March, he rode thro' the Cities with the Pomp of a Triumph, and cross'd the Rivers in rich Barges, magnificently adorn'd with several Sorts of Crowns, while Tables were prepar'd in all Parts with the utmost Profusion. But he observ'd no manner of Order or Discipline among his Domesticks or Soldiers, making a Jest of their Rapines and Abuses. For not being content to be treated every where at the Publick Charge, they made free what Slaves they pleas'd, beating and scourging, and often wounding

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those

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\* To signifie his falling from his Imperial Dignity.

† This shew'd he shou'd finally be defeated.

|| This Omen is explain'd by Suetonius, p. 446.



those who oppos'd them, and sometimes knocking them on the Head. When he came to the Fields where the Battel was fought, some being disturb'd at the Stench of the Carcasses, he had the Daring to animate them with this barbarous and ill-omen'd Saying, That *the Smell of a slain Enemy was very sweet, and of a Citizen much better.* However, to repel the Noisomness of the Savour, he drank a plentiful Quantity of Wine before their Eyes, and with equal Vanity and Insolence commanded it to be dealt round as they march'd. Observing a common Stone inscrib'd to *Otho's* Memory, *He was worthy,* says he, *of such a Mausoleum;* and the Dagger with which he flew himself, he sent to *Agrippina's* Colony, to be dedicated to *Mars;* and held a *Pervigilium* upon the Top of *Apenninus.*

11. Lastly, he enter'd the City with the Sound of Trumpets, in his *Paludamentum*, girt with his Sword, and amid the Ensigns and Banners, his Attendants also being clad in the Military Habit, and the Soldiers following with their naked Weapons. And now more and more neglecting all Divine and Human Rights, he assum'd the High Priesthood upon the Day of the \* Defeat at *Allia;* and fix'd the Time for choosing Magistrates to be once in ten Years, and made himself Perpetual Consul. And to put it out of Question what Plan of Government he design'd to pursue, assembling a Number of the Publick Priests in the Middle of the *Campus Martius*, he perform'd an Infernal Sacrifice to *Nero;* and at a solemn Festival, a Harper pleasing him very well, he call'd out to him to sing something upon *Domitianus*, and the Fellow beginning a Song of *Nero's* making, he was the first to shout and clap him.

12. Having

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\* *A most ill omen'd Day with the Romans, and brand-ed in their Publick Kalendar, because they were beaten by the Gauls.*

12. Having made this Beginning, the greater Part of his Reign was manag'd by the Counsels and Pleasure of the vilest of the Players and Charioteers, especially of *Asiaticus* a Freedman. *Asiaticus* had been defil'd with mutual Prostitution in his early Youth, and being tir'd with the Life, ran away, and *Vitellius* catching him again as he was selling Verjuice at *Puteoli*, put him in Irons, and presently releasing him, took him into Favour again: But not enduring his stubborn and fierce Behaviour, he sold him to a stroling Fencer, and stole him from him again while he was reserv'd to conclude the Combat of the Day; and being himself promoted to the Command of a Province, he made him free; and the first Day of his Reign, gave him the Golden Ring at Supper, tho' when all his Acquaintance had requested it for him in the Morning, he express'd the utmost Abhorrence of laying such a Blemish on the Equestrian Order.

13. But being chiefly addicted to Luxury and Cruelty, he always made three and sometimes four Meals a Day; as a Breakfast, Dinner, Supper, and a Collation after that; all which he cou'd easily perform, because he had got a Habit of Vomiting upon Occasion. He generally took his Rounds for his Meals, inviting himself for each to the House of one and another of his Acquaintance in the same Day; and it never cost the Person who treated him less than † forty Millions of Sesterces every time. But the most celebrated was the Supper which his Brother gave him upon his Arrival; in which, 'tis said, two thousand of the choicest Fishes, and seven thousand Birds were serv'd to Table. Yet he exceeded this himself at the Dedication of a Charger, which, for the extravagant Magnitude of it, he commonly call'd *The Shield of Minerva*: For this Charger he fill'd with a very voluptuous Composition of the Livers of Scare-Fish, the Brains of Pheasants and  
U 5 Peacocks,

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† 10000 Crowns.

Peacocks, the Tongues of Phœnicopters, and the Roes of Lampreys, for which the Masters of Ships and Gallies ranfack'd the Ocean from as far as the *Carpathian* Sea, and the \* Streights of *Spain*. And as he was a Man not only of a boundless but also of an † unseasonable and sordid Appetite, he cou'd not forbear even at a Sacrifice or on a Journey, but wou'd catch up the Flesh from the Altars and snatch the Cates out of the Flames, and eat them, and even devour the Victuals in the Cooks Shops upon the Road, whether they were then fresh-dress'd, or the stale Leavings of Yesterday.

14. Being dispos'd to put to death or punish any one upon any occasion, he cut off, by several sorts of Treachery, the Noblemen, his Fellow-Pupils and Equals, whom he had ensnar'd by all manner of Blandishments, almost admitting them to a Partnership with him in the Empire. To one of them he administred Poyson with his own Hand, in a Draught of cold Water, which he call'd for as he lay ill of a Fever: And of the Usurers, × Stipulators and Publicans, who had ever demanded a Debt of him at *Rome*, or Duties upon the Road, he hardly spar'd a Man. Having deliver'd one of them in the very Act of Salutation into the Executioner's Hands, and immediately calling him back, while all were praising his Clemency, he order'd him to be executed before his Face, saying, *Velle se pascere oculos*, He had a Mind to †† feed his Eyes; and the two Sons of another offering to interceed for their Father, he commanded them to undergo the same Fate. A Roman Knight crying out, as they carry'd him off, *Thou art my Heir*, he oblig'd him to produce his Testa-

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\* The Streights of Gibraltar.

† Eating out of all usual Hours, and devouring any coarse and foul Victuals which came in his Way.

× Bondsmen, who became Security to Creditors for performing the Conditions upon which they lent their Money.

†† With the Sight of the Execution.



Testament; and when he saw the Knight had made his Freedman Coheir with him, he order'd them to be both strangled together. He also put to death some of the common People, only for openly cursing the Faction of the Blue, looking upon it as done in Contempt of himself, and from a Hope of a sudden Alteration. But he was more severe against none than the Fortune-Tellers and Astrologers, beheading any one who was accus'd, without hearing him. That which intrag'd him, was, that after his Edict, in which he injoin'd them to leave the City and *Italy* by the Kalends of October, a Paper was found publickly affix'd, asserting, *that the Chaldeans declar'd it* \* for the Publick Interest, *that Vitellius Germanicus shou'd cease to be before those Kalends came.* He was also suspected to have been concern'd in the Death of his Mother, forbidding them to give her Food in her Sickness; a certain Woman call'd *Catta*, whom he listned to as an Oracle, prophesying, *His Reign shou'd then be fix'd and lasting if he surviv'd her.* Others say, that she herself being weary of the present Posture of Things, and afraid of what was coming, beg'd her Son to help her to a Dose of Poyson, who made no great Difficulty to obey her.

15. In the eighth Month of his Reign, the Armies of either *Mæsia* and of *Pannonia* revolted, and beyond the Sea, those in *Judæa* and *Syriæ*; and Part of them swore to *Vespasian* in Person and Part in his Absence. To retain therefore the Favour and Affection of others, he practis'd all manner of Liberality both in Publick and Private. He made Levies also in the City, upon Condition that such as listned voluntarily shou'd not only be discharg'd after the Victory, but even receive the Reward of Veterane-Troops who had serv'd the full Time. The Enemy pressing him then by Sea and Land, he sent his Brother against him

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\* Bonum factum, the Words of Form, with which the Edicts began.

him with a Fleet, and the new Levies and a Band of Gladiators to make Head against him on one Side, and on the other the Forces and Commanders at *Bebriacum*. But being vanquish'd or betray'd in every Place, he bargain'd with *Flavius Sabinus*, the Brother of *Vespasian*, to secure his Life for a \* thousand Millions of Sesterces, and immediately declar'd at the Steps of the Palace before a great Concourse of the Soldiers, *that he wou'd resign the Empire, which he had accepted against his Will*; and when they all protested against it, he desisted: And after a Night's Delay, as soon as it was Light, he went down to the *Rostra* in a sordid Garment, and with a World of Tears made the same Declaration again, reading it to them now from a Paper; but the Soldiers and the People interrupting again, and advising him not be dishearten'd, and promising to assist him to the utmost of their Power, he took Courage, and surprizing *Sabinus* and the rest of the *Flavii*, who suspected Nothing, he forc'd them into the *Capitol*; and setting the Temple of *Jupiter* † *Optimus Maximus* on fire, burnt them in it; and beheld the \* Skirmish and the Burning from the *Tiberian* Lodging as he was banquetting there. Not long after, repenting of the Fact, and throwing the Blame upon others, he call'd an Assembly and swore himself, and oblig'd others to swear, that *Nothing was dearer to him than the Publick Repose*. Unbinding his Dagger then from his Side, he offer'd it first to the Consul, and upon his refusing it, to the Magistrates, and afterwards to the Senators Man by Man; and no one accepting it, he departed as if he was going to lodge it in the Temple of CONCORD: But some crying out, *Ipsam esse CONCORDIAM*,  
That

\* 4375000 *Livres*.

† The Best and Greatest, the most solemn Style which they gave to their Supreme Deity.

\* The Dispute when they seiz'd the *Flavii* and went to carry them to the *Capitol*.

*That he himself was* CONCORD, he came back and as-  
sur'd them he would not only keep the Weapon  
himself, but also take the Cognomen of CONCORD.

16. He also persuaded the Senate to send Messen-  
gers with the *Vestal* Virgins to ask a Peace, or at  
least Time for Consultation. The next Day, as he  
was expecting an Answer, he was told by one of the  
Scouts that the Enemy was at hand: immediately  
therefore slipping into a Travelling-Litter, accom-  
pany'd only with two, his Baker and his Cook, he  
retired privately to *Mons Aventinus* and his Paternal  
House, that from thence he might escape into *Campa-*  
*nia*. A light and uncertain Rumor being soon spread,  
that a Peace was obtain'd, he suffer'd himself to be  
brought back to the Palace; and finding it all deser-  
ted, and that those who were with him were stealing  
away, he put on a Girdle stuff'd full with Pieces of  
Gold, and fled into the Porter's Lodge, tying the  
Dog before the Gate, and laying the Bed and Bed-  
ding against the Door.

17. The Forerunners of the Enemy had now broke  
in, and finding no Body, fell a searching, as is usu-  
al, thro' every Corner, and pulling him out of his  
sculking Place ask'd him *Who he was?* (for they  
did not know him) and *whether he knew where Vi-*  
*tellius was?* he put them off with a Lye; but being  
at length discover'd, he beg'd of them incessantly,  
as if he had something to offer which nearly con-  
cern'd *Vespasian's* Life, to keep him under a Guard  
in the † mean Time, tho' it were in Prison; but  
they ty'd his Hands behind him, and putting a Hal-  
ter about his Neck, dragg'd him half naked, with his  
Garments rent and torne, all thro' the \* *Via Sacra*  
into the *Forum*, with infinite Taunts and Insults,  
pulling

† Till *Vespasian* arriv'd.

\* The Sacred Way, the principal Street in Rome,  
called so because the solemn Processions to the Temple were  
made thro' it.



pulling his Head back by the Hair, just as they use Criminals; and placing a Dagger under his Chin to make him hold up his Face to open View, some pelted him with Ordure and Dirt, and others call'd him \* *Incerdiary*, and † *Charger-Monger*. And Part of the Rabble also upbraided him with his Bodily Defects; for he was extravagantly tall, had a red fiery Face, occasion'd mostly by his Drinking, a large strutting Belly, and a Weakness in one of his Thighs, contracted by a Bruise he receiv'd by a Chariot, as he was waiting upon *Caius* in one of his Races. At last they put him to Death with short little Stabbings at the *Gemonian* Stairs, and from thence they dragg'd him with the Hook and threw him into the *Tiber*.

18. He perish'd, together with his Brother and his Son, in the Fifty-seventh Year of his Age; nor did he deceive their Conjecture, who, from the †† Omen which happen'd to him at *Vienna*, foretold it certainly portended, that he shou'd fall into the Hands of some *Gaulish* Man. Accordingly he was taken by *Antonius Primus*, a Commander of the Enemy's, who was born at *Tholouse*, and in his Childhood had the Cognomen of -|- *Beccus*, which signifies the Bill of a Cock.

\* *Because he set the Capitol on fire.*

† *From the Charger which he dedicated, and made a Treat in.*

†† *See p. 439.*

-|- *Hence also our Word, Beak, of a Bird.*





# THE L I F E O F

## *Titus Flavius Vespasianus.*



THE Empire, which by the \* Rebellion and Murder of three Princes had been long in a doubtful and unsettled Condition, coming at length to the *Flavian* Family, was establish'd by them and fix'd. A Fami'y obscure indeed, and which had no Images of their Ancestors among them, but of which the Republick had no Reason to repent, tho' it suffer'd justly, 'tis true, for the Avarice and Cruelty of *Domitian*. *Titus Flavius Petro* was  
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\* *Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who each of them took Arms against the Emperor in Possession, but with this Difference ; Galba acted openly, and was invited to it by the repeated Importunities of the People, who had long suffer'd the extravagant Oppressions of Nero ; but he neither betray'd Nero, nor put him to Death. Otho, without Provocation, perfidiously conspir'd against Galba, and murder'd him basely ; and Vitellius revolted first against Galba, and afterwards march'd against Otho, who when his Forces had receiv'd a Defeat, stabb'd himself. Vespasian also obtain'd the Empire by taking Arms against Vitellius, and a Party of his Troops put him to Death.*



a Citizen of \* *Reate*, and in the Civil War of *Pompey*, being a Centurion or an † *Evocatus*, fled out of the Battel of *Pharsalia* and retir'd to his own House; and having afterwards obtain'd a Pardon and his Discharge, became a Broker at the Publick Sales. His Son, whose Cognomen was *Sabinus*, having no Skill in Military Affairs, (tho' some say he was a † *Primipilaris*, and others, that being a Head-Leader of a Legion, he was releas'd from Service because of his ill Health) was a Collector of the Fortieth Penny in *Asia*; and there were Images erected to him with this Inscription, ΚΑΛΩ'Σ ΤΕΛΩΝΗ'ΣΑΝΤΙ, TO THE HONEST PUBLICAN. He afterwards follow'd Usury among the *Helvetii*, where he dy'd, leaving behind him his Wife *Vespasia Polla*, and two Children by her; of which the elder, *Sabinus*, was advanc'd to the Prefecture of the City, and *Vespasian*, the younger, even to the Empire. *Polla* was born of an honourable Family at *Nursia*, and had for her Father *Vespasian Pollio*, thrice Military Tribune, and Prefect of the Camp, and her Brother was a Senator of Pretorian Dignity. And at this Day, six Miles from *Nursia* in the Road to *Spoletum*, upon the Top of a Mountain, there is a Place call'd *Vespasia's*, in which are a great many Monuments of the *Vispasii*, an evident Token of the Splendor and Antiquity of the House. I deny not but some have pretended, that *Petro's* Father was born beyond the *Po*, and let to hire the labouring People who us'd to come once a Year among the *Sabines* from *Umbria* to cultivate the Lands, and that marrying a Wife at *Reate*, he settled there. But I find no Footsteps of this, tho' I have enquir'd into it with the utmost Curiosity.

2. *Vispa-*

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\* A Town of the Sabines, now *Rieti*.

† A Veterane Soldier, who had serv'd out the legal Time, and list'd himself again at the Consuls Request, upon some great Occasion. The *Evocati* were thought as honourable as the Centurions.

|| See the Note p. 283.

2. *Vespasian* was born in the Country of the *Sabines* beyond *Reate*, in a small Village call'd *Phalacrine*, on the \* fifteenth of the Kalends of *December*, in the Evening, Q *Sulpicius Camerinus*, and C. *Poppæus Sabinus* being Consuls, five Years before *Augustus* dy'd; and was educated under his Paternal Grandmother *Tertulla*, in a Farm in the Territory of x *Cossa*. Wherefore, when he was Emperor; he us'd often to frequent the Place of his Infancy, preserving the House just as it was, without Alteration, that his || Eyes might not be depriv'd of any Objects they had been accustom'd to see. And he had such a Love for his Grandmother's Memory, that upon Solemn and Festival Days he always drank out of a little Silver-Cup which had been hers. Having put on the Virile Gown, he declin'd for a long time the †† *Latus Clavus*, tho' his Brother had receiv'd it before him; nor cou'd he after all be prevail'd on to ask it, by any one beside his Mother, who forc'd him into it at last rather by Rallery than by Authority and Intreaties, calling him in Ridicule his Brother's -|- Usher. He serv'd in the Post of a Military Tribune in *Thrace*; and when he was Questor, receiv'd by Lot the Provinces of *Crete* and *Cyrene*. And standing for the *Ædileship*, and afterwards for the Preture, he obtain'd the first with Difficulty, and not till he had suffer'd a Repulse, and even then he was only the sixth *Ædile*; but the Pretorship he carry'd triumphantly the first time he was Candidate: And having a Prejudice against the Senate, that he might oblige \* *Caius* all manner of Ways, he † mov'd to have extraordinary

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\* November the 16th.

x A Tuscan City.

|| *Lat.* Ne quid scilicet oculorum consuetudini deperiret; a stiff, unnatural Manner of Expression.

†† The Badge of a Senator, and one of Senatorian Dignity.

-|- Anteambulo.

\* The Emperor Caligula.

† Out of Spire to the Senate, who, he knew, were against it.

traordinary Games celebrated for his X German Victory; and that it might be added to the Punishment of the || Conspirators, that their Bodies shou'd be cast forth without Burial. He return'd him Thanks also in a full House, for having done him the Honour to invite him to Supper.

3. About this Time he marry'd *Flavia Domitilla*, formerly a *Latin* and Slave to *Statilius Capella*, a Roman Knight of *Sabratæ* in *Africk*, but she was afterwards pronounc'd Freeborn and a Citizen of *Rome*, in the Court of Recoveries; her Father *Flavius Liberalis* of *Perentum* undertaking to create her such, tho' he was only Scribe to the Questor. His Children by her were *Titus*, *Domitian* and *Domitilla*. He surviv'd his Wife and his Daughter, losing them both while he was a private Man. After his Wife's Death, he receiv'd into his Bed again his beloved Concubine *Cænis*, *Antonia's* Freed-Woman and *Ammanensis*; and when he was Emperor, he treated her almost as his lawful Wife.

4. In *Claudius's* Reign he was sent Lieutenant of a Legion into *Germany*, by the Interest of *Narcissus*, and being remov'd thence into *Britain*, he fought the Enemy thrice, and partly under the Command of *Aulus Plautius* a Consular Lieutenant, and partly under *Claudius* himself, he reduc'd two powerful Nations, above twenty Towns, and the Island †† *Vectis* which lies by *Britain*. For this he receiv'd the Triumphal Ornaments, and in a short time a double Priesthood; and, except his holding the Consulate for the two last Months of the Year, the rest of the Time to his Proconsulate he pass'd in Retirement and Leasure, being afraid of *Agrippina*, who then bore a wonderful Sway with her Son, and mortally hated

X *His Mock-Expedition in Germany*, p. 280.

|| *Against Caligula*; they were *Lepidus* and *Gæticus*, p. 214.

†† *The Isle of Wight*.



hated all the Friends of dead *Narcissus*. Obtaining after this the Province of *Africa* by Lot, he govern'd with great Integrity, and was treated with extraordinary Veneration and Honour, only in a Sedition once at *Adrumetum*, the Rabble pelted him with Turnips. It is certain he did not return the richer; for his Credit was so impair'd, that he was oblig'd to mortgage all his Lands to his Brother, and was forc'd to descend so low, as to become a Dealer in Horses and Mules to support his Quality, for which he was commonly call'd the \* *Muletteer*. He is said to have been convicted also of having squeez'd two hundred † *Sesterces* out of a young Man, for whom he procur'd the *Latus Clavus* against his †† Father's Consent, upon which account he receiv'd a severe Reprimand. Attending *Nero* in his Progress to *Achaia*, he wou'd generally get away when he was singing, or, if he staid, fall asleep, by which he provok'd him to the last Degree; and being forbidden not only the Emperor's Private Rooms, but also the Publick Salutation, he withdrew to a small City which lay out of the Road, where he kept conceal'd in Fear of his Life, till he was offer'd the Command of a Province with an Army. An antient and constant Opinion had spread it self thro' all the East, that the Fates had decreed ‡ *some coming out of Judæa shou'd at that Time enjoy the Empire*. This Prophecy, which was meant of the Roman Emperor, as the Event afterwards declar'd, the Jews applying to themselves, made a Rebellion, and having slain the Governor, put to Flight also the Consular Lieutenant.

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\* Or Jockey; because he either let out Horses and Mules for Hire, or bought them and sold them again to Advantage.

† *Sestertia*, 8750 *Livres*.

†† The young Man's Father, who was afraid, 'tis likely, his Son's Vanity and Ambition wou'd prove his Ruine.

‡ See the Note p. 141.

tenant of *Syria* who came to his Assistance, and took the Eagle. To suppress this Insurrection, a more numerous Army being needful, and a General intrepid and active, and yet one who might safely be entrusted with so important a Command, the Choice fell readily upon him, as being of known Experience and Industry, and no way to be fear'd because of the Meanness of his Family and Name. His Forces therefore being augmented with two Legions, eight Wings and ten Cohorts, and his eldest Son made one of his Lieutenants, as soon as he enter'd the Province, he drew the Eyes of the neighbouring Regions upon him; for he immediately reform'd the Discipline of the Camp, and fought with so much Daring and Bravery in one or two Engagements, that he receiv'd a Blow upon his Knee with a Stone in storming a Castle, and had several Arrows shot into his Target.

5. After *Nero* and *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius* disputing the Sovereignty between them, he began to form some Hopes of the Empire, which had been already excited in him by these Omens. In the Suburbane Seat of the *Flavii*, an antient Oak, which was consecrated to *Mars*, thrice successively upon *Vespasia's* Delivery, put forth a Set of new Branches or Shoots on a sudden; which very plainly express'd the future Fate of each of the Children. For the first Branch was slender and wither'd quickly; accordingly the Girl, who was then born, did not live above a Year. The second was very strong, and of a great Length, which portended an extraordinary Felicity: But the third was like a full-grown Tree. Wherefore they say, *Sabinus* the Father, being confirm'd in it by the *Haruspex*, told his Mother, *that she had a Cæsar born for a Grandson*; at which she fell a laughing heartily, in admiration *that while* \* *she was yet in her Senses, her Son shou'd fall a raving*. And afterwards  
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\* *Because she was in the Decay of Old Age, and her Son in the Vigor of Youth.*

## TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS. 453

when he was *Ædile*, *Caius Cæsar* thinking he did not take care to keep the Streets of the City well swept, order'd the Soldiers to fill the Bosom of his Robe with Dirt; nor were some wanting to interpret it, that the Republick being trampled under foot, and abandon'd by some Civil Dissention, shou'd one Time cast it self upon his Protection, and fall as it were into his Bosom. As he was at Dinner once, a strange Dog brought a Man's † Hand out of the Street in his Mouth, and dropp'd it under the Table; and when he was at Supper, a × Plough-Ox, throwing off his Yoke, broke into the Room, and the Servants all running away, as if he had been tir'd on a sudden, he lay down and submitted his Neck at his Feet. A Cypress-Tree, in a Field belonging to his Ancestors, being torne up by the Roots and thrown all along without any Tempest, was the next Day more verdent and flourishing, and more firmly rooted than ever. In *Achaia* he dream'd, that the Felicity of him and his Family shou'd commence as soon as *Nero* lost one of his Teeth; and the next Day, as he was going into the Court, he met a Surgeon who shew'd him a Tooth of *Nero's* which he had just drawn. In *Judæa*, consulting the Oracle of the God of †† *Carmel*, it was told him, That whatever he was revolving

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† This refers, perhaps, to a Military Ensign of the Romans which had a Hand on the Top; and so may signify the Army's making him their Sovereign Leader, and consequently Emperor.

× The Words *Bos Arator*, perhaps point at this Construction of the Omen; that the Earth, which the Ox was employ'd in Plowing, shou'd become subject to his Command.

†† A Mountain in *Judæa* famous for the Dispute between *Elijah* and the Prophets of *Baal*, 1 Kings, 18. *Elijah* is also said to have dwelt there, and kept one of the Schools of the Prophets; and to this Tradition *Suetonius* seems to allude, and therefore I have translated *Carmeli Dei*, not The God *Carmel*, but, The God of *Carmel*.



revolving in his Thoughts, how great soever it were, shou'd come to pass: And *Josephus*, one of the noble Captives, being put in Bonds by him, confidently declar'd, he shou'd shortly be releas'd by the same Person, but not till he was Emperor. Some Presages were reported also to have happen'd in the City; as that *Nero* in his latter Days was admonish'd in his Sleep to \* drive the † Chariot of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus* from the Temple to *Vespasian's* House, and from thence to the *Circus*: And not long after, as *Galba* was entering the Election-Court, when he was chosen Consul the second Time, the Statue of *Julius Cæsar* turn'd about of its own Accord to the || East; and at the Battle of \*\* *Bebriacum*, before the Fight began, two Eagles engag'd in open View, and one of them being vanquish'd, a third came in from the rising Sun and beat away the Victor.

6. Yet he attempted Nothing, tho' his Friends were ready and urg'd him on, till he was invited to it by some Persons both unknown and absent, who were accidentally engag'd in his Favour. Two thousand Men were drawn out of the three Legions of the Army in *Mæsia* and sent to *Otho's* Assistance, and hearing upon their March, that he was defeated, and had laid violent Hands upon himself, advanc'd however as far as *Aquileia*, as if they had given no Credit to the Report: And there taking Advantage of the Opportunity, and of their being without Comptrol, they

\* This was the same Thing as to invest *Vespasian* with the Empire, it belonging to the Emperor to lead up the *Circensian Games*.

† *Thensa*.

|| Where *Vespasian* commanded, and from whence he began his March against *Vitellius*. This Circumstance of *Julius Cæsar's* Statue intimated *Vespasian's* obtaining the Supreme Command, as *Julius* had done before.

\*\* Fought between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, who are represented by the two Eagles, and *Vespasian* by the third.

they committed all Kind of Rapine and Devastation; and being afraid they shou'd be call'd to Account for it and punish'd at their Return, they came into a Resolution to elect and constitute an Emperor, *for they were in no Point inferiour, they said, to the Spanish Army, which had made Galba Emperor, or to the Pretorian Cohorts who advanc'd Otho, or the German Troops who created Vitellius.* The Consular Lieutenants, as many as were then in Commission, being propos'd by Name, and one rejecting one, and another another, for several Reasons, some of the third Legion, which had been remov'd from *Syria* to *Mæssa*, at the End of *Nero's* Reign, broke out into the Praises of *Vespasian*; upon which they agreed to him unanimously, and immediately inscrib'd his Name in all their Banners: But the Thing was kept \* private for the present, till the Forces were by Degrees brought into Order, and recover'd to a Sense of their Duty. When the Affair was made known, *Tiberius Alexander*, the Prefect of *Ægypt*, first caus'd the Legions to swear to *Vespasian*, upon the Kalends of *July*, which Day was afterwards observ'd as the first of his Reign; and then the Army in *Judæa* took an Oath to him in his Presence, the fifth of the Ides of the same Month. What animated him very much in his Undertaking, was, a Copy of a Letter which made a great Noise, whether it were real or counterfeited, written to him by *Otho* at his Death, charging him in the most passionate Manner to revenge him, and entreating him to relieve the Common-Wealth; and a Rumor which was blaz'd about, that *Vitellius* the Conqueror design'd to change the Winter Quarters of the Legions, and remove the † *German Army* to the East where they wou'd live more indulgently and at Ease.

Beside,

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\* This was transacted therefore among the principal Commanders of these Troops, or some few o' hers also.

† And so translate the Troops in the East, Part of which *Vespasian* commanded, into Germany.

Beside, among the Governors of the Provinces, *Licinius Mucianus*, and among the Kings, *Vologesius* the *Parthian*; the one, laying aside the Resentment he had borne to him not obscurely till now, promis'd him the Army in *Syria*; and the other, Twenty thousand Archers to assist him.

7. A Civil War therefore being begun, and the Leaders and the Forces advancing before into *Italy*, he cross'd over to *Alexandria* to possess himself of the Passes of *Ægypt*; and causing all Company to be remov'd, he enter'd the Temple of *Serapis* alone, to take an Auspice concerning the Establishment of his Empire; and having with several Sacrifices propitiated the God, at last as he was \* turning round, † *Basilides* seem'd to offer him Vervain and Crowns, and consecrated Bread, according to the Custom of the Place, tho' 'twas certain no Body had let him into the Temple, and he had not been able to attend there for a long Time, by reason of a Distemper upon his Nerves, and was now also at a considerable Distance. Immediately he receiv'd Letters, that *Vitellius's* Troops were defeated at *Cremona*, and himself murder'd in the City. An Authority, and a certain Majesty and Awe were wanting in him, as being created a Prince unexpectedly and without Preparation. But these were soon obtain'd; for an ordinary Man who was blind, and another who had a Weakness in one of his Legs, presented themselves both together before him as he was sitting upon his Tribunal, beseeching him to administer that Cure to them, which *Serapis* in a Dream had shewn them he was able to bestow, assuring them he shou'd give Sight to the one, if he wou'd spit upon his Eyes, and restore the Leg of the other, if he wou'd vouchsafe to touch it with his Heel. But being scarcely able to believe he shou'd have any manner of Success in the Attempt, and consequently not daring to put it

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\* A solemn Rite of Adoration.

† The Priest of *Serapis*.



it to the Trial, upon the Importunities of his Friends at last he made the Essay upon each in a Publick Assembly; nor did the Event fail him. At the same Time also at *Tagea* in *Arcadia*, by the Direction of some Prophetick Persons, they dug up, in a consecrated Place, Vessels of antique Work, the Image upon which was very like *Vespasian*.

8. Thus and with so great a Fame he return'd to the City, and celebrated a Triumph over the *Jews*, and added eight Consulships to his first. He also undertook the Censorship, and thro' the whole Course of his Reign had nothing more at Heart than in the first Place to establish the Republick, which was almost subverted and fallen, and then to improve and adorn it. The Soldiers partly presuming upon their † Success, and partly out of Madnels at their Disgrace, had proceeded to the utmost Licentiousness and Insolence; the Provinces also and free Cities, and even some Kingdoms were beginning to mutiny. Wherefore he broke most of *Vitellius's* Men and punish'd them, and was so far from shewing the Troops which had a Share in the Victory any extraordinary Favours, that he did not allow them their legal Rewards till after a long Delay. And not to lose any Occasion of reforming the Dissoluteness of Discipline; a young Gentleman coming to pay him Thanks for the Grant of a Prefecture, and smelling strong of Perfumes, he gave him a disdainful Nod, and reprimanded him with this smart Expression, *I had rather thou had'st stunk of Garlick*, and revok'd the Grant. The Marines who travel on foot by Turns from *Ostia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*, petitioning to have an Allowance appointed them to buy Shoes, as if it were a small Thing to send them

X

away

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† *Vespasian's* own Troops, who had routed *Vitellius's*. These were insolent upon the Merit of the Victory, and *Vitellius's* Soldiers, who were now submitted to *Vespasian*, acted any Outrage and Mischief they cou'd, in Revenge of their late Defeat.

away without an Answer, he order'd they shou'd run without Shoes for the future, which they continue to do ever since. *Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium* and *Samos* he disfranchis'd ; as *Thrace* also, *Cilicia* and *Comagene*, which had been to that Time under a Kingly Government, and reduc'd them into the Form of Provinces. He increas'd the Number of Legions in *Cappadocia*, because of the continual Incurfions of the Barbarians, and plac'd a Confular Governor there inftead of a *Roman* Knight. The City being defac'd by Fires and ruinous Buildings, if the Owners neglected to do it, he allow'd any who pleas'd, to take Poffeffion of the void Ground and build upon it : And going to repair the Capitol, he began to move the Rubbifh firft with his own Hands, and carry'd off feveral Baskets of it upon his Shoulders. He undertook to reftore the Three thousand † Plates of Brafs, which had perifh'd in the Burning, fearching after Copies in all Parts ; thefe Records were the moft noble and antient Inftrument of the Empire, in which were contain'd the Decrees of the Senate almoft from the Foundation of the City ; and the Judgments of the People concerning Alliances and Leagues, and Privileges granted to any.

9. He alfo erected feveral new Works, as the Temple of Peace next the *Forum*, and that of *Claudius* upon Mount *Cælius*, which had been begun indeed by *Agrippina*, but was almoft entirely demolish'd by *Nero* ; and built an Amphitheatre alfo in the Middle of the City, as he underftood *Augustus* had design'd to have done. In the higheft Orders, which were exhausted by frequent Murders, and corrupted by the Remiffnefs of former Years, he made a Reform ; and fill'd up the Senate and the Body of the Knights at a Review, degrading the moft Unworthy, and chufing in the moft Honourable Perfons in *Italy* and the Provinces. And that it might appear the Two Orders did not differ fo much in Liberty as in Dignity, he ordain'd

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† See p. 17, 142.

ordain'd thus upon a Quarrel between a Senator and a Knight, *Abusive Language ought not to be given to a Senator; but it was lawful and right to return it to him, if he was the Aggressor.*

10. Law-Suits were extravagantly multiply'd in all Parts, old Processes being still depending, because of the frequent Interruption of Justice, and new ones arising from the Confusion of the Times. He elected therefore a Number of Persons by Lot, to decide concerning the Restoring of Things taken in War, and extraordinarily also to direct and bring into a short Compass the Judgments of the *Centum Viri*, which were so tedious, that the Life of a Client seem'd scarcely sufficient to attend the Issue.

11. Lust and Luxury, because there was no Restraint, being grown to a wonderful Height, he procur'd a Decree of the Senate, that any Woman who had to do with the Slave of another Person, shou'd become a Slave her self; and that no Usurer should be able to sue a Son for Money lent him to be paid after his Father's Death

12. In other Things, from the Beginning of his Reign to the End of it, he was Gentle and Clement. He never made a Secret of his former Meanness, but us'd to mention it frequently, and boast of it: and when some undertook to deduce the Original of the *Flavian* Family from the Founder of *Reate* and the Companion of *Hercules*, whose Monument is to be seen in the *Salarian Way*, he laugh'd at them very heartily. He was so little fond of outward Shew and Decoration, that upon the Day of his Triumph, being tir'd with the Slowness and Length of the Pomp, he cou'd not forbear crying out, *He was justly punish'd, who had been so weak in his Old Age as to seek for a Triumph, as if it were either due to his* \* *Ancestors, or*

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had

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\* He seems in this to refer to the Meanness of his Family, who were not noble enough to receive so high an Honour, and for the same Reason, he cou'd not have expected he shou'd ever arrive at it himself.



had ever been expected by himself. Nor did he till very late assume either the Tribunitial Power, or the Appellation of *FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY*. And the Custom of Examining and Searching Persons who came to make their Salutations to him, he had laid aside even while the Civil War was on foot.

13 The Freedoms of his Friends, the Reflections of the Pleaders, and unmanner'd Flouts of the Philosophers, he took very patiently. *Licinius Mucianus*, who was scandalously Unchaste, but presuming upon his Merits, behav'd himself to him very disrespectfully, he only reprov'd in private, and even then when he was complaining of him to a Friend, he added, *Yet I am but a Man*. *Salvius Liberalis*, in his Defence of a certain rich Man, having the Boldness to say, *What is it to Cæsar, if Hipparchus is worth a hundred Million of Sesterces?* he commended him for it. *Demetrius* the Cynick meeting him upon the Road, after he had been condemn'd to Exile, and neither vouchsafing to rise up to him nor salute him, and even snarling at him with some foul-mouth'd Language, he thought it enough to call him \* *Dog*.

14. Provocations and Injuries he never kept in Mind, or reveng'd. He marry'd the Daughter of his Enemy *Vitellius* very splendidly, giving her a Dowry and an Equipage. Being forbidden the Court under *Nero*, and asking his Friends in a great Consternation what he should do, and whither he shou'd go, one of the Emperor's Introdutors thrust him out, and bid him go to † *Morbonia*. When this Man came to beg his Pardon, his Resentment rose no higher than to return his own Words upon him. For he was so far from being led to cut off any one out of Suspicion or Fear, that his Friends advising him

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\* The Name of the Sect, who were so called from *Kύων κυνός*, a Dog.

† A made Word from *Morbus*, a Disease; it signifie the same as to bid him go hang himself.

to beware of *Metius Pomposianus*, because he was commonly thought to have an Imperial Nativity, he made him Consul immediately, and was sure, he said, *Metius* wou'd never forget the Kindness.

15. It was seldom found that an innocent Person suffer'd, unless He was absent and knew nothing of the Matter, or certainly contrary to his Intention, and he was deceiv'd in the Thing. *Helvidius Priscus* being the only Man that saluted him at his Return from *Syria* by his private Name *Vespasian*, and who in his Pretorship had constantly pass'd him by in all his Edicts without any Respect or Mention, he was not provok'd at him, till by the most insolent and vile Reflections and Insults he had almost levell'd him with the meanest of the People. And tho' he had condemn'd this Man to be banish'd first, and then put to Death, he thought it wou'd be a generous Action to save him, sending after the Executioners to call them back, and had certainly preserv'd him, if they had not told him a Lye, that he was executed before the Messengers arriv'd. He never rejoyc'd in any one's Suffering, and even shed Tears and sigh'd for the just Punishment of the Guilty.

16. The only thing in which he might be deservedly blam'd, was his Love of Money. For not being content to have reviv'd the Taxes which were omitted under *Galba*, and to have added new ones and very heavy, and augmented the Tributes of the Provinces, and even doubled many of them; he also openly practis'd some Dealings which were shameful even in a Private Man, buying up several Things only to vend them again at a higher Rate. Nor did he scruple to sell Honours to the Candidates, or Pardons to Persons accus'd whether innocent or guilty. He is thought to have promoted the most rapacious of the Procurators to the highest Offices, on purpose that when they were grown rich, he might condemn them and seize their Effects; and it was a common Saying, that *he us'd them for Sponges*, laying them asoak when they were dry, and when they were thoroughly wet

squeezing them. Some say, he was naturally covetous, and that he was told so roundly by an old Herdsman, who suing to have his Liberty given him *Gratis* upon his coming to the Empire, and being deny'd it, bawl'd out, *A Fox may change his Hair, but not his Manners*. Others think he was driven to these Excesses and Rapines by his Necessities, the Treasury and Stores being very low; for he declar'd, *Forty Millions of Sesterces were absolutely necessary to secure the State*. And this seems the more likely, because what he got by ill Means, he employ'd to the best Purposes.

17 Being very liberal to all Orders of Men, he made up the Estates of the Senators which were below the Legal Rate, allow'd \* five hundred Sesterces a Year to poor Consular Men, and many Cities throughout the whole Empire which were damag'd by Earthquakes or Fire, he repair'd.

18. He was also a great Encourager of Learning and Arts, and was the first who settled a hundred † Sesterces annually upon the *Latin* and *Greek* Rhetoricians out of the Treasury. He kept in Pay the most eminent Poets and Artificers, and gave an extraordinary Congiary and a very handsome Reward to one who restor'd the X *Colossus*. A Mechanick offering to carry some large Pillars into the *Capitol* at a small Expence, he gratify'd him handsomely for his Proposal, but did not accept it; saying, *He must let the poor People live*.

19. In the Plays for the Dedication of *Marcellus's* Theatre, which was open'd anew, he reviv'd the old Dialogues To *Apollinaris* the Tragedian he gave four hundred †† Sesterces, to *Terpnus* and *Diodorus* the Harpers

\* 21875 *Livres*.

† Sesterceia, 4375 *Livres*.

X Which stood in the Court-Yard of Nero's Golden Lodging.

†† Sesterce, 17500 *Livres*.



Harpers \* two hundred, and to some -† one hundred, and forty to those whom he gave the least, beside several Golden Crowns. He made frequent Entertainments, and generally in Form and very richly, that he might help the Victuallers. He gave New-Year's Gifts to the Men at the *Saturnalia*, and upon the Kalends of *March* to the Women; and yet even thus he cou'd not escape the Reproach of his former Avarice; for the *Alexandrians* always continu'd to call him *Cybiosactes*, the Cognomen of one of their Kings who was sordidly covetous. And at his Funerals, *Favor* the Arch-Mimick representing his Person, and imitating (as the Custom is) his Words and Actions while alive, ask'd the Managers of the Solemnity aloud, *What the Charge of the Funeral and the Poms wou'd amount to?* and they answering, *A \* Hundred Millions of Sesterces*, he cry'd out, *If they wou'd give him but a Hundred † Sesterces, they might throw him into the Tiber.*

20 He was of a middle Stature, his Joints were compact and firm, and there was a certain Pain in his Countenance like that of a Man straining to discharge: And hence a witty Person answer'd him merrily, when he desir'd him *to say something upon him<sup>self</sup> also*; *I will*, says he, *when you have done easing your<sup>self</sup>.* He had a very happy State of Health; tho' all he did to secure it was, to have his Jaws and his Limbs rubb'd so many times in the Tennis-Court belonging to the Baths, and to fast one Day in every Month.

21. His Method of Living was generally this: When he was Emperor he rose early and sate up late; and having read his Letters and all Papers of Business, he admitted his Friends, and while they

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were

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\* 8750 Livres.

-† 4375 Livres.

\* 437500 Livres.

† Sestercia, 4375 Livres.

were saluting him he put on his Shoes and dress'd himself. Having dispatch'd whatever Business came before him, he spent some Time in Exercise, and then repos'd himself, one of his Concubines lying by him, for he had chosen several in the Room of *Canis* who was dead. After this he went to the Bath and the Banquet-Room, nor was he ever in a better Humour, or more gracious, than at those Seasons, which made his Servants readily catch at those Opportunities to ask any Favours of him.

22. At Supper, and at all other Times also, he was very free, and wou'd do Business with a Joke; for he was satirical, and so foul and sordid in his Expressions, that he wou'd not forbear downright Obscenity. Yet there are some Turns of his still preserv'd which are pleasant enough, and among them this: *Menstruus Florus*, a Consular Man, undertaking to inform him it was more proper to say *Plaustra* than *Plures*, the next Day he saluted him by the Name of *Flaurus*: And a certain Woman pretending to die for Love of him, and paying down Four hundred Sesterces for the Honour of his Embraces, his Steward ask'd him how he wou'd have the Summ enter'd in his Accounts, *So much to Vespasian*, says he, *for being belov'd*.

23. He wou'd also repeat *Greek Verses* with a very lucky Allusion; as concerning one who was very tall, and largely furnish'd,

\* *Μακρὸν βιβᾶς, κραδαὼν δολιχόσκιον ἔσχατον*,

Huge Strides he stalks, and shakes a Length of Spear:

And especially of *Cerylus*, a Freedman, who being very rich, to prevent a Part of his Estate from falling to the † Treasury, at his Death wou'd fain make himself

\* Homer, Il. 7. describing Ajax's Spear.

† According to a Decree of Nero's, p. 375.

himself pass for a Man free born, and change his Name to *Laches* ;

Χ ὦ Λάχης, Λάχης, επὼν ἀποδάνης,  
\*Αὐδὺς ὅς ἐπαρχὴς εἰρήσῃ Κήρυλλῳ.

O *Laches, Laches*, when thou diest, then  
Thou'lt certainly be *Cerylus* again.

But he chiefly affected to droll about his scandalous Ways of getting Money, that he might lessen the Shame by a witty Saying, and pass the whole into a Jest. One of his Favourite Servants begging a Stewardship for one as if it had been for his own Brother, he put him off, and sending for the Candidate, and taking of him as much as he had agreed to give his Solicitor, order'd him the Place immediately; and some Time after his Servant applying to him about it again, *You must provide your self*, says he, *with another Brother; for this which you took to be yours, is mine.* Suspecting that his Muletteer once upon a Journey got down to shoe the Mules, only to make a Stop that he might give a certain Client an Opportunity to speak to the Emperor, he ask'd the Fellow \* *how much he got by that Shoeing*, and bargain'd with him for a Share of the Gain. His Son *Titus* finding Fault with him, because he had laid a Duty even upon Urine, he held the first Money which was brought in by this Tax to his Nose, and ask'd him *whether the Smell offended him*; and upon his answering *No.* Yet, says he, *this came out of Urine.* Some Deputies being sent to acquaint him, that a Statue as large as a *Colossus* was decreed to be publickly erected to him at a very great Expence, he desir'd them to begin it immediately,

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For,

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X *These Verses are, with a few Alterations, taken from Menander.*

\* *How much the Man gave him for affording him that Opportunity to tell his Case to the Emperor.*



For, says he, shewing them the Hollow of his Hand, *here's a Bull ready*. And even in the Fear and extreme Danger of Death he cou'd not abstain from his † Jests. For when among other Prodigies the *Mausoleum* of the *Caesars* flew open on a sudden, and a Blazing Star appear'd in the Heavens, he said, the first X belong'd to *Junia Calvina* of the Family of *Augustus*, and the other to the King of the *Parthians*, because he had || long Hair. And upon the first Fit of his Distemper, *I think*, says he, *I am going to be a \* God*.

24. In his ninth Consulship he was seiz'd with some light Motions of an Indisposition in *Campania*, and returning to the City immediately, he went to the  
† *Cutyan*

† Our Countryman Sir Thomas More was a memorable Instance of this Kind; but with this Disadvantage, that his Jests upon the Scaffold were trifling, and altogether unbecoming a Man of his Tears and Quality and Learning, in so solemn an Hour; whereas those which Suetonius mentions of *Vespasian's*, are not low and trivial Jokes, as Sir Thomas Moor's were, but a just Disregard of the Superstition of the People, by which they wou'd have persuaded him those Omens, (as they thought them) were pointed at him; whereas *Vespasian*, instead of being terrified at them, pleasantly transfers them to another; and tho' his Expression at the Beginning of his Illness, is sporting, yet it is a well-grounded and strong Satire upon the extravagant Absurdity of the Romans in making their Emperors Gods after their Death; and when he found himself expiring, he was serious and shew'd in his Last Words a great and manly Mind. See the Note, p. 154.

X The Mausoleum being built by *Augustus*, see p. 159.

|| Because a Blazing Star seems to have a long Train of Hair issuing from it, the Word Comet being deriv'd from *Coma*, Hair; and the Parthian King, according to the Custom of Barbarian Nations (see p. 248.) wearing the Hair of his Head and Beard at Length, *Vespasian* facetiously applies the Prognostick to him.

\* i. e. To die, alluding to the Apotheosis.

† *Cutylion* Waters and the Country of *Reate*, where he us'd to pass the Summer every Year : Here tho' his Illness increas'd upon him, and he had corrupted his Intestines by the frequent Use of cold Water, he perform'd the Imperial Offices as usually, and even gave Audience to Ambassadors as he lay in his Bed ; but a sudden Loosness throwing him into fainting Fits, *An Emperor*, says he, *ought to die standing* ; and raising himself upon his Feet, he expir'd in the Arms of those who supported him, the ninth of the Kalends of *July*, aged sixty-nine Years, seven Months and seven Days.

25. It is universally agreed, that he was always so certain concerning his own Nativity and his Childrens, that after several Conspiracies against him, he dar'd to affirm to the Senate, *Either his Sons wou'd succeed him, or no Man*. It is said also, that he saw in his Sleep a †† Balance hung in the Middle of the Porch of the Palace exactly pois'd, with *Claudius* and *Nero* standing in one Scale, and himself and his Sons in the other. And the Event was agreeable ; for they reign'd the same \* Number of Years, and the same Space of Time between them on either side

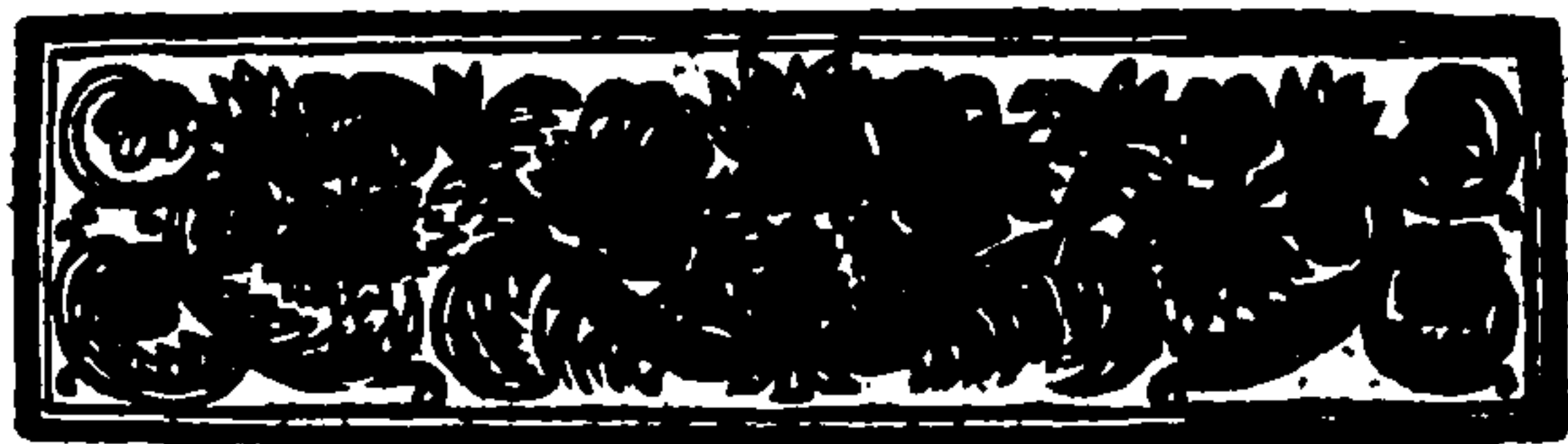
† Now Lago di Contigliano.

†† Thus Jupiter weighs the Trojans and the Greeks in Homer, and Turnus and Æneas in Virgil.

\* Twenty-eight ; for *Claudius* and *Nero* reign'd each of them fourteen The Time of *Vespasian's* Reign is differently reported ; but his Son *Titus* reigning two Years, and *Domitian* fifteen, the Remainder of the Summ must be supply'd from his.

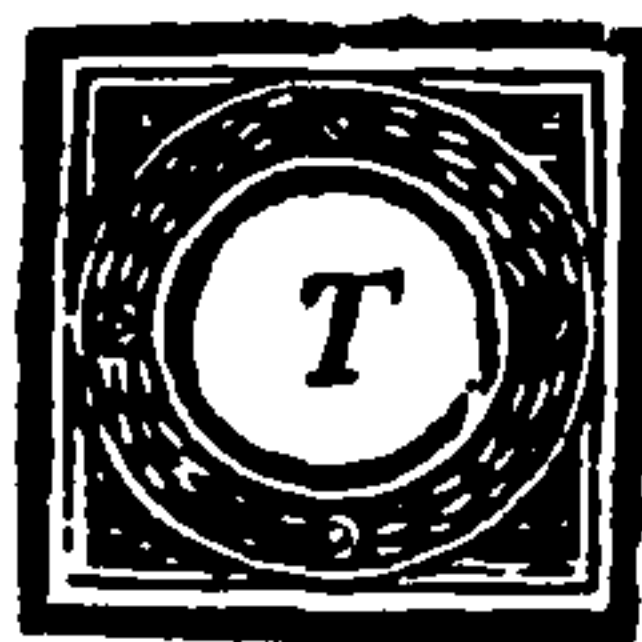






T H E  
L I F E  
O F

*Titus Flavius Vespasianus Augustus.*



**T**ITUS, who had the same *Cognomen* with his Father, was the Delight of human Kind: For such was either the Sweetness of his Nature, or his skilful Address, or the Felicity of his Fortune, that he attracted the Love of all Men; and, which was the most difficult Thing in the World, after his coming to the Empire: tho' while he was a private Man, and even in his Father's Reign, he did not want Hatred and Publick Reproach.

2. He was born the third of the Kalends of January, in a Year remarkable for \* *Caligula's* Murder, at a mean House near the † *Septizonium*, in a little blind Chamber,

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\* *Caligula.*

† *A Septizonium is a large Building supported by seven Rows of Pillars. There was a surprising one of this Name erected by Severus; but as that was long after Suetonius's Time, some other must be meant here which was erected before; tho' it is strange, that Suetonius, who is so particular in mentioning the Structures which were erected by the Emperors themselves, or by others at their Instigation, should take no Notice of this.*

Chamber, which is still standing and to be seen. He was educated at Court together with *Britannicus*, and instructed in the same Parts of Learning, and by the same Masters. At which Time, they say, a Physiognomist who was brought by *Narcissus*, the Freedman of *Claudius*, to view *Britannicus*'s Countenance, and make a Judgment upon it, absolutely declar'd *Britannicus* shou'd never come to be Emperor, but that *Titus* who stood by him shou'd. They were so \* intimate and united, that 'tis believ'd *Titus* who lay next him at Table, tasted of the Potion with which *Britannicus* was poyson'd, and was very ill with it a long Time. Of all which Circumstances he was so mindful afterwards, that he erected *Britannicus* a Golden Statue in the Palace, and dedicated to him another of Ivory on Horseback, which is still carry'd along in the *Circensian* Shews, and follow'd it himself in the Procession.

3. The Qualifications of his Body and Mind display'd themselves early while he was a Boy, and shone out with more and more Brightness thro' every Degree of his Age. He was handsome, and his Presence was no less than his Beauty. He was very strong, tho' he was not tall, and had a Belly something strutting. He had an extraordinary Memory, and a Genius capable both of the Arts of War and Peace. He understood the Exercise of Arms, and rode perfectly well; was a Master of the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and us'd them readily either for Oration or Poems, and even *extempore*. Nor was he ignorant in Musick, for he sung and play'd gracefully and with Judgment. I have been inform'd by several, he wou'd take Notes surprisingly swift, vy-

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\* Suetonius seems to intimate there was such a fond Union between them, as to eat out of one Dish, and drink out of the same Cup; and that this was accidentally the Occasion of *Titus*'s tasting the poysonous Draught, not that it was given him with Design.

ing out of Sport with his *Amanuenses* in imitating any one's Hand he saw, and saying, *He cou'd make the best Forger in the World.*

4. He serv'd a Military Tribune both in *Germany* and *Britann*, with great Industry and no less Modesty and Fame, as appears by the Multitude of his Images and Inscriptions in either Province. After this, he apply'd himself to the *Forum*, where he practis'd with Reputation, but was not very diligent. At the same Time he marry'd *Arpicidia Tertulla*, whose Father was a *Roman* Knight, and had been Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts; and, upon her Death, *Marcia Furnilla*, of an illustrious Family, whom after she had borne him a Daughter, he divorc'd. Being then advanc'd from the Honour of the Questorship to the Command of a Legion, he reduc'd \* *Tarichæa* and *Gamala*, two strong Cities of *Judæa*; and having his Horse kill'd under him in one Engagement, he mounted upon another, whose Rider he had encounter'd and slain.

5. Being sent afterwards to congratulate *Galba* upon his Accession to the Empire, all Men as he pass'd had their Eyes upon him, as if he were summon'd home in order to be † adopted. But understanding as he was upon the Road, that Things were in × Confusion again, he turn'd back, and visiting the Oracle of *Venus* at †† *Paphos*, as he was consulting it concerning his Voyage, he was confirm'd by it in his Hope of the Empire, †† the Means of which were soon put  
into

\* See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. III. & IV.

† By Galba.

× By Galba's Murder.

†† A City of Cyprus

†† Cujus (n. spei de Imperio) brevi compos: What Suetonius refers to here, is Titus's being saluted IMPERATOR (concerning which Word see the Note p. 358) by the Soldiers; which was rather another Omen of Confirmation, than a direct Completion of the Oracle, or an Accomplishment of his Hope.



into his Power ; For being left behind to finish the Conquest of *Judea*, at the last Assault of *Jerusalem* he flew twelve of the Defendants with as many Arrows, and took the City upon his Daughter's Birth Day, and with such Joy and Transport of the Soldiers, that in their Congratulation they saluted him *IMPERATOR*; and afterwards, when he was leaving the Province, they detain'd him, beseeching him, and even using Threatnings, *That he wou'd either stay, or take them all along with him*: Whence arose a Suspicion, as if he had attempted to revolt from his Father, and claim the Empire of the East to himself; which Suspicion he increas'd, when going to *Alexandria*, he wore a Diadem at the Consecration of the *Ox Apis* at *Memphis*. This indeed was according to Custom, and the antient Rites of that Solemnity; yet there were not wanting some who constru'd it in a worse Sense. Wherefore hastening to *Italy*, he got to *Rhegium*, and from thence to *Puteoli* in a common Ship of Burden, and thence making the utmost Speed to *Rome*, he arriv'd unexpectedly, and running to his Father, cry'd out, *Veni, Pater, veni; I am come, Father, I am come*; as it were blaming the Rashness of the Reports which had been rais'd about him.

6. Nor did he from this Time cease to act as a Partner and Guardian of the Empire. He triumph'd with his Father, and held the Censorship together, and was his Colleague in the Tribunitial Power, and in seven Consulates. And taking upon himself the Execution of almost all Affairs, writing Letters, drawing Edicts in his Father's Name, and rehearsing Orations in the Senate in the Quæstor's stead, he assum'd the Post of \* *Præfectus Prætorii*, which was never till that Time sustain'd but by a Roman Knight. He acted also arrogantly and with Violence; for whenever he suspected any Man, he suborn'd

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\* Captain of the Pretorian Bands. See p. 317.

orn'd some in the Theatres and in the Camp to call out for having him punish'd, and executed him presently. Among these, *Aulus Cæcina* a Consular Man was invited to Supper, and was scarcely got out of the Room, when he commanded him to be stabb'd, the imminent Danger he was in, putting him upon it ; for he found a Paper under *Cæcina's* own Hand, containing the Particulars of a \* Conspiracy he had design'd to form among the Soldiers. By these Things, as he provided for his Security hereafter, he contracted so much Hatred for the present, that hardly any Man cou'd arrive at the Empire with so hated a Character, and such universal Prejudice and Disapprobation.

7. He lay under a Suspicion of Luxury as well as Cruelty, because he wou'd continue feasting till Midnight with the most extravagant of his Companions ; and no less of Lust, on account of his Troops of Catamites and Eunuchs, and his prodigious Passion for Queen *Beronice*, to whom, it was said, he made a Promise of Marriage. He was also suspected of Rapaciousness, because it appear'd he us'd to traffick for his Father's Decrees, and make Money of them. In a Word, he was commonly esteem'd and call'd another *Nero*. But this † Report turn'd to his Advantage, and was afterwards chang'd into the highest Praises ; when there was found in him no one Vice, and on the contrary the most consummate Virtues. He gave Entertainments rather pleasing than profuse ; and chose for his Friends such Men, as succeeding Princes acquiesc'd in and chiefly employ'd, as most capable of doing Service to them and to the State.

\* Casaubon reads *Concio* instead of *Conjuratio* ; and then it signifies a Speech he had drawn up to engage the Army in a Revolt.

† The Reader will here have in his Thoughts our famous Henry V. who shew'd as surprising a Reformation immediately upon his coming to the Crown.

State. He immediately dismiss'd *Beronice* from the City, with the utmost Reluctance on both sides. Some of the most pleasing of his Catamites, tho' they danc'd so finely that they held the first Rank upon the Stage, he not only forbore to cherish with Indulgence, but even to be a Spectator of them in Publick. He never depriv'd any Citizen of his Property, abstaining, if ever Man did, from that which was another's ; not so much as accepting the allow'd and usual Presents ; and yet he was inferiour to none in Munificence. Having dedicated an Amphitheatre, and built with surprising Expedition some Baths just by it, he exhibited very rich and pompous Shews. He gave a Sea-Fight also in the Old *Naumachia*, a Combat of Gladiators, and a Chase of five thousand Wild Beasts of every Kind in one Day.

8. He was of so benevolent a Temper, that whereas according to the Institution of *Tiberius*, all the Emperors after him did not look upon the Grants of their Predecessors as valid, unless they were renew'd to the same Persons by themselves ; he was the first Prince who confirm'd them at once in a single Edict, nor did he so much as suffer himself to be apply'd to for it. And whatever Requests were made to him by any, he fix'd it as his perpetual Custom, not to let any go away in Despair : And when his Domesticks told him, *He wou'd be apt to promise more than he cou'd perform ; No Man, says he, ought to depart sad from a Prince's Presence.* Calling to Mind once at Supper, that he had done Nothing for any one thro' the whole Day, he utter'd that memorable and praise-worthy Saying, *Amici, Diem perdidit ! My Friends, I have lost a Day !* He treated the whole Body of the People in particular upon all Occasions with so much Courtesy and Condescension, that proclaiming a Gladiatory Combat, he declar'd, *He wou'd order it not to his own Liking, but to please the Spectators.* And indeed he fulfill'd his Words ; for he deny'd them Nothing they ask'd, and even press'd them to ask whatever they wou'd. And declaring himself openly a Fa-  
vourer



vourer of the \* *Thracian* Combatants, he often disputed it for them warmly with the People with his Voice and Gestures, yet so as to preserve the Dignity of his Rank and Person, and not to exceed the † Rules of Justice. And to neglect no manner of Popularity. he admitted the People into the Bath sometimes as he was washing. There happen'd some unfortunate Accidents in his Reign; as, an Eruption of Mount *Vesuvius* in *Campania*, a Fire at *Rome* for three Days and as many Nights, and such a Pestilence as had scarcely been known before. Under so many Calamities and of such a Nature, he shew'd not only the Concern of a Prince, but even the Affection of a Parent; sometimes encouraging the People by his Edicts, and sometimes relieving them as far as his Revenues wou'd allow. He chose many by Lot from among the Consular Men, to take Care to restore the Mischiefs sustain'd in *Campania*; and the Goods of those who perish'd by the Eruption, and had left no Heirs, he appointed to be apply'd to the Succour of the suffering Cities. By the Fire at *Rome*, he declar'd no Man was a Loser but himself, giving up all the Ornaments of his Palaces to repair the Buildings and the Temples and placing several of the Equestrian Order to oversee the Work that it might be dispatch'd with the greater Speed. For recovering the People's Health, and putting a Stop to the Sickness, he employ'd all Means of Help, Human and Divine, trying all Sorts of Sacrifices and Remedies. Among the Evils of the Times, the Delators and Suborn'd Evidence were, by a long Licentiousness, become a principal. These he order'd to be beaten daily in the *Forum* with Scourges and Clubs, and lastly dragg'd thro' the Amphitheatre, and partly sold for Slaves, and partly transported to some

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\* Those who fought after the *Thracian* Manner.

† The Emperor was President of the Games, and awarded the Prize.

some craggy Islands. And for ever to restrain any from presuming to repeat those Practices, he forbad, among other Things, the same Cause to be try'd by several Laws ; and that after a certain Number of Years, there shou'd be an Enquiry into the Condition of any Person deceas'd.

9. He profess'd he accepted the High-Priesthood on purpose to preserve his Hands \* unpolluted. And he kept his Word : For after this, he was neither the Author nor Accessary of any one's Death, tho' he did not want Provocations to Revenge ; but he swore, *he wou'd sooner perish himself than destroy another.* Two Persons of Patrician Rank being convicted of aspiring to the Empire, he only admonish'd them to desist, saying, *The † Princedom was dispos'd of by Fate ;* and promising, if they desir'd any thing else, to bestow it on them, and presently dispatch'd his Messengers to the Mother of one of them, who was at a considerable Distance, to put her out of Fear, and let her know her Son was safe. And he not only treated them very familiarly at Supper, but at a Shew of Gladiators the next Day plac'd them by him on purpose, and offer'd them the Weapons of the Combatants which were brought him to view them. It is said also, that when he understood their Nativity, he affirm'd, *some great Danger threaten'd them both, and shou'd one time overtake them, but from another Hand.* And so it happen'd. His Brother, who was incessantly plotting against him, and almost openly courted the Soldiers to revolt, and was preparing to escape by Flight, he cou'd neither bear to put to Death, nor to remove him, nor even to lessen his Honours :

\* By Blood.

† Instead of revenging their Design with Death, he endeavours in a friendly Manner to convince them of the Vanity of the Attempt, assuring them, that unless the Fates had ordain'd they shou'd have the Empire, it wou'd be impossible for them to obtain it.

Honours : But as from the first Day of his Reign he had continu'd to declare him his Partner and his Successor, he begg'd him sometimes in secret with Prayers and Tears, *That he wou'd at length have the same Affection for him.*

10. Amid these Things, he was abruptly snatch'd away by Death, more to the Loss of Mankind than his own. Having finish'd the Shews, at the Close of which he wept plentifully before the People, he went to the *Sabine* Country something dejected, because the Victim ran away as he was sacrificing, and it thunder'd in a serene Sky. And being seiz'd with a Fever at his first Baiting, he was carry'd the rest of the Way in a Litter, and is said to have put the Curtains back, and look'd up to Heaven, complaining bitterly, *his Life was taken from him very unjustly ; for there was not any of his Actions he had to repent of, except only one.* What that was, he never discover'd himself, nor is it easy to surmise. Some imagine, he had in his Thoughts a former Freedom with his Brother's Wife : But *Domitia* swore solemnly, there had never been any thing of that Kind ; and she wou'd not have deny'd it if there had, but wou'd have glory'd in it, as she was ready to do in all her Debaucheries.

11. He dy'd in the same *Villa* with his Father, upon the Ides of *September*, two Years, two Months, and twenty Days after his succeeding him, and in the forty-first Year of his Age. As soon as it was known, every one lamented as if it had been his own Domestick Sorrow ; and the Senate, not waiting to be summon'd by an Edict, ran to the House, and keeping the Doors shut a while, and then throwing them open, heap'd such Thanks and Praises upon him now he was dead, as they had never given him when he was alive and present with them.







T H E  
L I F E  
O F

*Titus Flavius Domitianus.*



DOMITIAN was born the \* ninth of the Kalends of *November*, his Father being Consul elect, and to enter upon his Office the Month following ; in the sixth Region of the City, and the *Pomegranate-Street*, in a House which he afterwards converted into a Temple of the *Flavian* Family. While he was a Boy, and in the first Part of his Youth, he is said to have liv'd in so much Want and Dishonour, that he had not one Piece of Plate about him for Use. And it is certain *Clodius Pollio*, a Pretorian Man, against whom there is extant a Poem of *Nero's*, entitled *Luscio*, kept a Letter under his Hand, and sometimes shew'd it, in which he promis'd him a Night's Prostitution, when he pleas'd ; nor were some wanting who affirm'd he was corrupted by his Successor *Nerva*. In the War of *Vitellius*, he fled into the *Capitol* with his Uncle *Sabinus*, and Part of the Forces that were  
on

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\* October the 23<sup>d</sup>.

on the Spot ; but the Enemy breaking in, and setting the Temple on Fire, he hid himself that Night with the Keeper of the Temple, and in the Morning disguising himself in the Habit of a Priest of *Isis*, got out among the Officers of that idle Superstition, and, with only one Attendant, went cross the *Tiber* to the Mother of his Fellow-Pupil, where he lay so closely conceal'd, that those who pursu'd him by his Tracks cou'd not find him. After the \* Victory he appear'd abroad, and being saluted *CÆSAR*, assum'd the Honour of the Pretorship of the City, with Consular Power in Title, but the Jurisdiction he transferr'd to his next Collegue. Yet he exercis'd his Authority with such Violence and Licentiousness, that he clearly shew'd what he wou'd be hereafter. Not to mention every Particular ; having been free with the Wives of several, he took to himself in Marriage *Domitia Longina*, who was marry'd to *Ælius Lamia* ; and in one Day dispos'd of above twenty Offices in the City and foreign Parts ; upon which *Vespasian* often said, *He wonder'd he did not send Him a Successor.*

2. He undertook an Expedition into *Gaul* and both *Germanys*, without any Necessity and against the Advice of his Father's Friends, only that he might equal his Brother in Exploits and Fame. Being reprimanded for these Things, that he might the better understand his Age and Condition, his Father made him dwell at home with him, and whenever he and his Brother went abroad in their Curule Chair, he follow'd them in a Litter, and in their *Judaic* Triumph accompany'd them mounted upon a white Horse. Of six Consulships which he held, but one was † Ordinary, and that he receiv'd by the Cession

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\* Of his Father *Vespasian* over *Vitellius*.

† He was not chosen for Part of the Time in another's Room, but enter'd upon the Consulship at the Beginning of the Year, and held it the whole Term. Such a Consulship was term'd *Consulatus Ordinarius*.



Cession of his Brother, who resign'd to him his Turn. He also put on a wonderful Face of Modesty, and particularly employ'd himself in the Study of Poetry, (which he had never meddled with before, and afterwards despis'd and abandon'd,) and rehears'd in Publick. However, when *Vologesus* King of the *Parthians* demanded Succours against the *Alani*, and desir'd one of *Vespasian's* Sons might head them, he made all the Interest he cou'd to be sent; and because that Affair was soon compos'd, he attempted by Gifts and Promises to procure other Kings of the East to make the same Request. Upon his Father's Death he was pausing a long Time, whether he shou'd not give a \* double Donative to the Soldiers, and never scrupled to affirm, *That he was left Partner in the Empire, but there was a Fraud committed in his Father's Testament.* Nor did he cease from that Time to lay Snares for his Brother openly and in secret: And when he was taken ill, he commanded them to leave him for dead, before the Breath was out of his Body; and after his Death, bestow'd no Honour upon him but that of Consecration, and often aspers'd him obliquely in his Orations and Edicts.

3. At the Beginning of his Reign, he us'd to be private for so long every Day, and do nothing but catch Flies, and pierce them thro' with a sharp Style: And therefore, when one ask'd *Whether there was any Body in secret with the Emperor?* *Vibius Crispus* answer'd metrichly, *Ne Musca quidem; Not so much as a Fly.* His Wife *Domitia*, by whom he had a Son in his second Consulate, and whom the next Year he had saluted with the Style of *AUGUSTA*, being deeply in Love with *Paris* the Player, he divorc'd her; and then was so impatient of the Separation, that in a short Time he took her again, as if it were in Compliance with  
Y the

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\* Double what his Brother gave, to draw the Soldiers from him.

the Importunity of the People. In the Administration of the Empire, he was for a while very various, with an equal Mixture of Vices and Virtues, till his Virtues were at last all converted into Vices ; and, as far as we may guess, beside the Bent of his Nature, he became rapacious out of Want, and cruel out of Fear.

4. He frequently exhibited magnificent and costly Shews ; not in the Amphitheatre only, but also in the *Circus* ; where besides the usual Chariot-Races with two Horses and four, he also gave a Battel between Horse and Foot, and a Sea-Fight in the Amphitheatre : For the Huntings of Wild Beasts, and the Gladiators Combats, he caus'd to be perform'd in the Night by Torches, and had not only Engagements of Men, but of Women also. And he was so constant at the \* *Questorian Games*, which he reviv'd after they had been long intermitted, that he allow'd the People to demand two Pairs of Champions out of his own Number, which were brought on last of all in a Royal Livery. At every Shew of the Gladiators, a Dwarf-Boy clad in Scarlet with a Head monstrously little, stood at his Feet, whom he talk'd to very much, and sometimes about serious Business ; for he was once heard to ask him, *Whether he knew why he design'd to make Metius Rufus Prefect of Ægypt at the next Promotion ?* He presented Naval Fights with almost whole Fleets, a huge Lake being form'd by the *Tiber*, and convenient Seats erected, from whence he beheld them even in the smartest Showers. He also ordain'd the Secular Games, making his Computation of the Time, not from the Year in which *Claudius* had held them last, but in which they had been formerly celebrated by *Augustus*. At these, upon the Day of the *Circensian Sports*, that a † hundred Courses might be the more easily perform'd,

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\* Games set forth by the *Questor*.

† The usual Number was twenty-five. and they ran seven Times.

perform'd, he reduc'd each from seven Turns to five. He also instituted Quinquennial Games to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with a threefold Exercise, Musick, Horse-Racing and Wrestling, and with a Number of Crowns somewhat greater than is now given: There was also a Contention in Prose in *Greek* and *Latin*, and beside those who \* play'd the Harp and sung to it, others perform'd on that Instrument in a numerous Consort, and some singly without a Voice; and Virgins ran in the Race. He presided at the Solemnity in † Slippers, clad with a *Grecian* Gown of Purple, having a Golden Crown on his Head with the Effigies of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the Priest of *Jupiter* and the College of the || *Flavials* sitting by him in the same Habit, only they had his ‡ Image also in their Crowns. Every Year he celebrated the × *Quinquatria* to *Minerva* in Mount *Albanus*, and instituted a College for her, from whence Persons were chosen by Lot for the †† several Offices; and exhibited Huntings of Wild Beasts and Stage-Plays, with Contests of Orators and Poets. He gave a Congiary to the People thrice of Three Hundred Sesterces, and a noble Banquet at the Shews while the Gladiators were fighting; and first of all introduc'd the Custom of eating at the Festival of the -|- Seven Hills, distributing large Baskets of Meats to the Senators and Knights, and smaller to the People: And the next Day he threw about all sorts of Toys, and because most part of them fell in the Seats of the Common

Y 2

People

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\* The Latin Words for these several Sorts of Performers are, *Citharædi*, *Chorocitharistæ*, and *Psilocitharistæ*.

† *Crepidatus*.

|| The Priests belonging to his own Family, the *Flavii*.

‡ To intimate his Divinity.

× A Festival held five Days after the *Ides*, for the Dedication of *Minerva's* Temple.

†† Of that College.

-|- Upon which the City was built.



People, he order'd Five Hundred \* Tickets to be thrown among those of the Knights and Senators.

5. Several noble Edifices which were consum'd by Fire, and among them the *Capitol*, which had been burnt again, he restor'd; but inscrib'd his own Name upon them all, making no mention of the Original Founder. He rais'd a new Fane in the *Capitol* to *Jupiter the Keeper*, and a *Forum* now call'd the *Forum of Nerva*; a Temple also to the *Flavian Family*, a † *Stadium*, an ‖ *Odeum*, and a †† *Nau-machia*; with the Stone of which the Side-Walls of the greater *Circus*, that were ruin'd by Fire, were afterwards repair'd.

6. The Expeditions he made, were partly of Choice, and partly of Necessity. Of Choice, against the *Catti*; and of Necessity, one against the *Sarmatæ*, a Legion being cut to Pieces with the Lieutenant; and two against the *Daci*, one when *Appius Sabinus* a Consular Man was defeated and lost, and the other when *Cornelius Fuscus*, Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, with whom he had intrusted the Command of the War, was slain. After various Battels he triumph'd over the *Catti* and *Daci*; but for his Victory over the *Sarmatæ*, he only offer'd a Laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. The Civil War which was set on foot by *L. Antonius*, President of the *Upper Germany*, he finish'd without going thither in Person, by a surprising Piece of good Fortune; for in the very Moment of the Battel, the *Rhine* overflowed on a sudden, and hinder'd the Forces of the Barbarians from crossing over to *Antonius* and joining him. Of this Victory he was appris'd by Presages before the Messengers arriv'd. For upon the Day of the Fight, an Eagle

\* For several Trifles and small Presents.

† A Place for Foot-Races.

‖ A Place where the Musicians perform'd, and play'd for the Prize, and Poets made their Rehearsals.

†† For exhibiting Sea-Fights.

Eagle of an extraordinary Size having embrac'd his Statue at *Rome* with its Wings, made a very joyful Noise; and presently after it was so hotly reported that *Antonius* was kill'd, that a great many were positive they saw his Head brought into the City.

7. He made several Innovations also in Things of common Use. He suppress'd the Publick \* *Sportulae*, and reviv'd the Custom of formal Suppers. He added two Factions at the *Circensian* Games, the Golden and the Purple, to the four old ones; and forbid the Players to act in Publick, but allowing them to exercise their Art in private Houses. He prohibited the Castration of Males, and moderated the Price of the Eunuchs that remain'd in the Merchants Hands. Upon a great Plenty of Wine, and a Scarcity of Corn, imagining that it proceeded from an extravagant Cultivation of the Vineyards and a Neglect of Tillage, he made an Edict that no one should plant new Vines in *Italy*, and that in the Provinces they shou'd cut them down, or at most not leave above half the Number standing: But he did not go thro' with the † Execution of his Order. He shar'd some of the chief Offices among the Freemen and the *Roman* Knights. He forbid the Legions to be plac'd × two together in one Camp, and that more than a thousand Sesterces shou'd be †† deposited at the Ensign by any Soldier, because *Antonius* seem'd to have depended very much upon that Money, when he was concerting his Revolt. And from three Pieces of Gold every fourth Month, he augmented the Soldiers Pay to four.

Y 3

8. He

\* Appointed by Nero instead of the Suppers, p. 360.

† The Reason of which see p. 495.

× To prevent their joining readily in a Revolt.

†† When the Soldiers receiv'd a Donative, Half of it (says *Vigetius*) was deposited at the Ensigns, to be a Supply for them upon Occasion, and to preserve them from Deserting.

8. He administer'd Justice with Diligence and Industry. He frequently sat in the *Forum* extraordinarily, to reverse the partial Sentences of the *Censumviri*; and often admonish'd the \* *Recoverers* not to be led away by the Importunities and Blandishments of the † *Affertors*. The Judges who took Money he branded, together with their Council; and caus'd the Tribunes of the People to accuse a sordid *Ædile* of Bribery, and to demand Judgment against him of the Senate. He took also such Care to restrain the City-Magistrates and the Presidents of the Provinces, that they were never more modest nor just; instead of which, after his Reign, we have seen them commonly guilty of all Crimes. Having undertaken a Correction of Manners, he forbid the Licentiousness in the Theatre, of beholding the Shews promiscuously in the Knights Seats. And defamatory Papers which were spread about, in which Men and Women of the first Rank and Distinction were expos'd, he abolish'd, and disgrac'd the Authors. He remov'd a *Questorian* Man from the Senate, because he was given to Acting and Dancing; and depriv'd scandalous Women of the Use of the Litter, and the Right of receiving Legacies and Inheritances. He struck out of the Judges List a *Roman* Knight, for taking his Wife again after he had dismiss'd her and accus'd her of Adultery; and condemn'd some of either Order by the || *Scatinian* Law. The Incests of the Vestal Virgins, which had been neglected by his Father and his Brother, he restrain'd by several severe Penalties; punishing the first Offence capitally, and the

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\* A Set of Judges, before whom People su'd for any Rights which were detain'd from them, or which they had lost.

† Those who appear'd with a Person before a Magistrate to make him free, declaring he had a just Title to Freedom, and claiming it for him as his Right.

|| For punishing those who kept Catamites, or prostituted themselves.



the second after the \* antient Manner. For when he had permitted the Sisters of *Ocellas* and *Varonilla* to chuse their Death, and had banish'd those who corrupted them, he afterwards commanded *Cornelia*, the principal of the Vestals, who had been acquitted formerly, and was now after a long Interval arraign'd again and convicted, to be bury'd alive, and her Debauchers to be whipt to Death with Rods in the † *Comitium*; but one of them who was a Pretorian Man, because his Case was doubtful, and his Confession was drawn from him by perplex'd Questions and by Torture, had the Indulgence to be banish'd. And that nothing belonging to the Gods might be prophan'd with Impunity, he made the Soldiers pull down a Monument a Freedman of his had built for his Son, of the Stones design'd for the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and throw the Bones and Relicks which were in it, into the Sea.

9. At first also he so abhorr'd all Manner of Bloodshed, that in his Father's Absence calling to Mind a Verse of *Virgil*,

|| *Impia quam caesis gens est epulata juvencis.*

E'er impious Nations fed on Heifers slain.

he was going to publish an Edict, *That no Oxen shou'd be sacrific'd.* And while he was a private Person, and for some Time after he was a Prince, he hardly gave the least Suspicion of Covetousness and Parsimony; nay on the contrary he often shew'd Instances not

Y 4

only

\* To be bury'd alive.

† A publick Place in Rome, where the Elections of Magistrates were made.

|| Georg. 2.

only of great †† Abstinence, but also of Bounty. He was very liberal to all about him; and press'd nothing upon them so much, or with equal Earnestness, as not to do a sordid or ungenerous Action. He accepted no Estates which were left him by those who had Children; and annull'd a Legacy appointed by the Testament of *Ruscus Cæpio*, who had requir'd his Heir should every Year present a certain Summ to the Senators Man by Man, as they went to the House. He discharg'd all those who had Prosecutions commenc'd against them by the Treasury five Years ago, and which were yet depending; and wou'd not permit the Action to be renew'd, unless it were done within a Year, and upon Condition, that if the Accuser cou'd not make good his Cause, he shou'd be banish'd. The Questors Scribes, who had got a Custom of Trading and Merchandizing contrary to the *Clodian* Law, he pardon'd for what was past; and restor'd the Parcels of \* Lands which remain'd after the Division of Grounds among the Veteran Troops, to the old Possessors, as belonging to them by Prescription. He prevented vexatious Suits about the Revenues, by severe Punishments upon the Informers; and there was a Saying of his commonly reported, *A Prince who does not punish Delators, encourages them.*

10. But he did not continue long in a Course either of Clemency or Abstinence; tho' he degenerated somewhat sooner into Cruelty than into Covetousness.

†† Abstinence here and in other Places which follow, does not signify the Moral Quality oppos'd to Intemperance, but the not invading the Property of another.

\* *Lat. Subseciva, quæ divisis per Veteranos agris carptim superfuerunt, veteribus possessoribus, ut usucapta, concessit.* Here is a remarkable Instance of the Conciseness of the Latin Language; for the Words *subseciva, carptim, usucapta*, will require a whole Sentence to draw out the full Meaning of them clearly in English.

roufness. He kill'd a Boy, the Disciple of *Paris* the Pantomime, as he lay very ill, because he seem'd to be not unlike his \* Master in his Art and Person; and *Hermogenes Tarsensis*, for some figurative Expressions in his History, crucifying also the Copiers who transcrib'd it. A Householder having said, A † Thracian Gladiator was a Match for a Mirmillo, but not for the X Master of the Shew, he caus'd him to be dragg'd down from his Seat, and thrown upon the Stage to the Dogs with this Inscription, A \* P A L MULARIAN WHO SPOKE †† IMPIOUS WORDS. He put a Multitude of Senators to Death, and among them some Consular Men; of whom were *Cirica Cerealis* even in his Proconsulate of *Asia*, *Salvidienus Orfitus*, and *Acilius Glabrio* in Exile, as if they were forming dangerous Designs against him; and the rest suffer'd all upon the lightest Pretences *Ælius Lamia* he executed for some suspicious Jest indeed, but which were both old and innocent; as because when *Domitian* was praising his Voice after he had taken his Wife from him he answer'd, || *Heu taceo, I am dumb*; and because when *Titus* advis'd him to marry again,

Y 5

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\* He had debauch'd *Domitian's* Wife, which enrag'd him so against this unhappy Youth for resembling him.

† See the Note, p. 280.

X The Emperor, who understood this to mean the Gladiator was able to beat his Antagonist the Mirmillo, but did not dare to do it because *Domitian* took his Part.

\* Because he declar'd for the Thracian Gladiators who wore a Shield call'd *Parma*.

†† By this *Domitian* seems to intimate his own Divinity, as he did by another Circumstance mention'd p. 483.

|| This Reading is much disputed by the Criticks; but if it be admitted, the Meaning is, *Ælius* was resolv'd to be silent, since he found *Domitian* lik'd his Voice, lest he shou'd endeavour to deprive him of that, as he had done of his Wife.



he reply'd, Μὴ καὶ σὺ γαμῆσαι θέλεις? *And -|- do you want to marry too?* He murder'd *Salvius Cocceianus*, because he had celebrated the Birth-day of his Uncle, *Orho* the Emperor; and *Mesius \* Pomposianus*, because it was commonly believ'd he had an Imperial Nativity, and because he carry'd about him a Map of the *World* drawn upon Vellum, and the Speeches of the Kings and Generals taken out of *Livy*, and had given the Names of † *Mago* and *Annibal* to his Slaves. *Salustius Lucullus*, the Lieutenant of *Britain*, because he had X suffer'd some Lances of a new Form to be call'd *Lucullean*. *Junius Rusticus*, because he had publish'd a Panegyrick upon †† *Petrus Traseas* and *Helvidius Priscus*, and had styl'd them, *very holy Men*; and took Occasion, from this Offence, to remove all the Philosophers from the City, and from *Italy*. He also slew *Helvidius*, the Son, for having as it were touch'd upon his Divorce with his Wife in a Stage-Prologue, under the Person of *Paris* and *Oenone*; and *Flavius Sabinus*, one of his ‡ Nephews, because, being chosen Consul, upon the Day of the Election the Cryer had inadvertently proclaim'd him, not Consul, but  
*Imperator,*

-| By taking away a Wife from me, after the Example of your Brother. Domitian had borne this Grudge against *Ælius* for some Time; for it is plain these Words were spoken before he came to the Empire.

\* The same mention'd p. 461. When *Vespasian* was told of his Nativity, instead of murdering him out of the Way, he acted like a sensible and generous Prince.

† Carthaginian Generals, who were formidable Enemies of the Romans.

X As if he had done himself too great an Honour, or shew'd a dangerous Ambition by it, and might design to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, in order to make a Revolt.

†† *Traseas* was put to Death by *Nero* (p. 382.) and *Priscus* by *Domitian* himself.

‡ *Patruelis*, a Brother's Son.

*Imperator*, to the People. But after his Success in the Civil War, he was yet more cruel. For in order to discover their Accomplices, who lay conceal'd, he rack'd Multitudes of the other Party with a Torture of a new Invention, setting Fire to their privy Part ; and cut off the Hands of some. And 'tis certain, that of the most noted of them, he pardon'd only two ; a Tribune of the *Latyclavi*, and a Centurion ; who, the more easily to make it appear they were innocent, prov'd themselves to be *Parbicks*, and that it was impossible they shou'd have had any Interest either with the General or the Soldiers.

11. Not was his Cruelty only extreme, but crafty also and unexpected. The Day before he crucify'd the Comptroller of his Accounts, he invited him into his Bed-Chamber, made him sit upon the Bed by him, and sent him away perfectly secure and cheerful, and at Supper did him the Honour to send him a Dish from his Table. Designing to condemn *Arrestinus Clemens*, a Consular Man, and one of his intimate Friends and Emissaries, he shew'd him the same or greater Favour than ever ; till at last, as he was riding out with him in the same Litter, spying his Accuser, *Shall we give this raskally Slave*, says he, *a Hearing to morrow ?* And that he might abuse the Patience of Men with the greater Contempt, he never pronounc'd a severe Sentence, without a Preamble full of extraordinary Clemency : So that there was not a more certain Sign of a calamitous Issue to any Person, than a gentle Beginning. He brought some into the Senate who were guilty of Treason, and having first said, *he shou'd make a Proof that Day how dear he was to the Senate*, he easily had them condemn'd

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\* Because it was impossible that they, whose Course of Life was so grossly enervate, shou'd engage in a Military Undertaking, or that any one wou'd think of inviting them into it.

demn'd to be punish'd *More Majorum* ; and then expressing a wonderful Consternation at the Severity of the Punishment, he interceded to mollify it in these Words; which it will not be amiss to set down particularly ; *Permit me, Fathers, to obtain of your Goodness, tho' I know I shall obtain it with Difficulty, that you wou'd so far indulge these condemn'd Wretches, as to allow them to chuse what Death they will die. For thereby you will spare your own † Eyes, and all Men will know I was present in the Senate.*

12. Being impoverish'd by the Extravagance of his Works and Gladiatory Shews, and by his raising the Soldiers Pay ; to lessen his Military Expences, he attempted to reduce the Number of the Soldiers. But considering he shou'd thereby expose himself to the Incurfions of the *Barbarians*, and shou'd yet labour under very great Burdens, he set himself to ravage and plunder all Manner of Ways. The\* Goods of the Living and the Dead were seiz'd in every Place, whoever was the Accuser, and whatever the Crime : . Any Act or Saying against the Majesty of the Prince was a sufficient Objection. The most distant

† *The Horror of the Execution More Majorum.*

\* *The Character of Rufinus in Claudian ;*

—————Cuicunq; monile  
Contextum Gemmis, aut Prædia culta fuissent, &c  
Lib. 1.

*Where pretious Chains and costly Bracelets shine  
With sparkling Gemms, and wrought with Art Divine  
Or the fair Harvest shews a fruitful Soil,  
The hungry Harpy flies and fastens on the Spoil.  
The fertile Field and cultivated Plain  
Betray their Owner, and undo the Swain.  
Houses he seizes, and Paternal Lands  
From their old Lords rapaciously demands :  
All feel his Rage, thro' ev'ry Quarter spread ;  
He strips the Living, and he heirs the Dead.*



distant Inheritances were confiscated, if there was but one Person who wou'd affirm he had heard the Deceas'd say, while he was alive, *Cæsar was his Heir*. Beside other Imposts, a Tax was severely exacted of the Jews, to which all were subjected who liv'd in the City after the Jewish Manner, without publicly professing the Religion, or who, dissembling their Original, had avoided the Tributes impos'd upon that Nation. I remember, when I was a Boy, an old Man of Ninety Years of Age was search'd by a Procurator, before a very full Council, whether he was circumcis'd. He was from his Youth unciviliz'd, of a bold confident Mind, and immoderate both in his Words and Actions. When *Cænis*, his Father's Concubine, upon his Return from *Istria*, offer'd to salute him with a Kiss, he held her out his Hand. Being displeas'd that his Brother's Son-in-Law had his Servants who waited on him, clad in \*White, he cry'd out, † *Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκolorεῖν*, *There is no bearing more Princes than one*.

13. When he had obtain'd the Empire, he scrupled not to boast in the Senate, *that he had given it before to his Father and his Brother, and they had now restor'd it to him again*; nor when he recall'd his Wife, whom he had divorc'd, to say in the Edict, *she was recall'd to his — Pulvinar*; and he heard with Pleasure

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\* *The Colour, it seems, of the Emperor's Livery.*

† Homer, Il. 2. Ulysses says it to the Greeks, when he is endeavouring to stop their intended Flight and bring them into Order. Domitian applies it to his Nephew-in-Law, for giving his Servants a Livery of the Imperial Colour.

—† *A sacred Couch, upon which the Images of the Gods were plac'd, see p. 99. This is also another Circumstance by which Domitian asserts his Divinity: But the proudest and most insolent of all, is, his expressly styling himself DEUS, a GOD, and assuming the Title of LORD, (see the Note, p. 105.) and even exalting his Wife into a Goddess; a Thing without Example of any former Emperor.*

sure the People shout upon a Festival-Day in the Amphitheatre, *Prosperity to our LORD and LADY*. At the *Capitolian Games* also the whole Body of the Spectators entreating him with one Consent, to restore *Palfarins Sura*, who was formerly expell'd the Senate, and had then won the Prize in Oratory, he vouchsaf'd them no Answer, only commanded them by the Cryer to be silent. With equal Arrogance, as he was dictating the Form of a Letter for his Procurators, he began it thus; *DOMINUS & DEUS noster sic fieri jubet*, Our LORD and GOD commands it to be so. Whence it was afterwards appointed, that no one shou'd give him any other Title in Words or Writing. He permitted no Statues to be erected to him in the *Capitol*, but of Gold and Silver, and of a certain Weight. He erected so many Posterns and Arches, adorn'd with Chariots of four Horses and Triumphal Decorations, in all the Regions of the City, that upon one of them was inscrib'd in Greek, *Ἀρκεί, Enough*. He began seventeen Consulships, which was never done by any before; of which the middlemost seven were successive without Interruption: But he held them all almost only in Title, not retaining any one beyond the Kalends of *May*, and most of them but to the \* Ides of *January*. After two Triumphs, having assum'd the Cognomen of *Germanicus*, he call'd the Months *September* and *October*, from his own Names, *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*; because he had receiv'd the Empire in one, and was born in the other.

14. By these Things becoming terrible and odious to all Men, he was destroy'd at last by a Conspiracy of his intimate Friends and Freedmen, and even of his Wife. He had long had an Apprehension concerning the last Year and Day of his Life, and of the very Hour, and the Kind of his Death. For the *Chaldeans* had foretold the whole to him when he  
was

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\* January the 13th.

was very young. His Father also laugh'd at him for being afraid to eat Mushrooms once at Supper, as not understanding his Destiny, nor considering he ought rather to fear the Sword. Wherefore, being always fearful and anxious, he was extravagantly alarm'd by the lightest Suspicions ; so that it is believ'd he was restrain'd from executing his Edict for cutting down the Vines, by no other Motive, than because Papers were thrown about with these Verses :

\* Κλω με φάγης ὅτι εἶζω, ἕως ἔτι καρποφορήσω,  
 \* Ὅσον σπασήσῃ καί σου θυμὸς ἰσχυρὸς.

Bite off my Boughs, and eat me to the Root,  
 Yet from my Stem shall rise sufficient Fruit,  
 When Cæsar's to the sacred Altar led,  
 To pour upon the Sacrifice's Head.

From the same Terror, tho' he was most ambitious of Honours, he refus'd a new one invented for him and offer'd him by the Senate ; by which it was decreed, *That as often as he assum'd the Consulship, a Body of the Roman Knights, chosen by Lot, shou'd march before him in their Robes with their Military Spears, among the Liçtors and Apparitors.* The Time of his suspected  
 Danger

\* *Verses in an old Greek Poet, upon a Goat's eating the Tendrils of the Vine, threatening him that, in Punishment for that Offence, he should be sacrific'd to Bacchus, the God of the Vine : Thus Virgil,*

Et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram, &c.  
 Geor. 2.

*Thin Cakes in Chargers, and a guilty Goat  
 Dragg'd by the Horrs, be to his Altars brought ;  
 Whose offer'd Entrails shall his Crime reproach,  
 And drip their Fatness from the Hazle Broach.*

Mr. Dryden.



Danger also approaching, he became more solicitous every Day, and lin'd the Walls of the Portico's, in which he us'd to walk, with a † Phengis-Stone, by the Reflexion of which he cou'd discern whatever pass'd behind his Back; nor did he give the Criminals a Hearing, but in private and alone, and holding their Chains in his Hands. And that he might persuade his Domesticks, it was of pernicious Example to attempt the Murder of a Patron, he condemn'd *Epaphroditus*, his Secretary, to lose his Head, because when *Nero* was deserted, he was thought to have lent him a helping Hand to dispatch himself.

15. In a Word, *Flavius Clemens*, his Cousin German, who was a Man scandalously \* idle, and whose little Children he had openly appointed for his Successors, and abolishing their former Name had commanded one to be called *Vespasian* and the other *Domitian*, he murder'd suddenly upon the most trivial Suspicion, the very Moment he was out of his Consulship. By which Action he hasten'd his own Ruine. For eight Months together, there was such incessant Thundering, that when he heard of it, he cry'd out, *Feriat jam quem volet, Now let it strike whom it will*. The Capitol was smote with Lightning, and the Temple of the *Flavian* Family, the *Palatine* House also, and his own Chamber; and the Inscription was rent from the Basis of his Triumphal Statue by the Violence of the Tempest, and thrown upon the next Monument. The Tree which while *Vespasian* was a Private Person being overturn'd sprung up again, fell down now on

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† A white Transparent Stone, found in Cappadocia.

\* This Expression is understood to signify *Clemens* was a Christian, it being a common Reproach thrown on the Christians by the Heathen, that they were idle and useless Persons. This shews us a Reason, why St. Paul, 2 Thes. 3. and elsewhere, strictly enjoyns them to be diligent in their Calling, and to maintain themselves by some honest Employment.

on a sudden. The Oracle of *Fortune* at *Præneste*, which upon his recommending every New Year, thro' his whole Reign, to her Protection, us'd always to give him the same auspicious answer, in his last return'd a very doleful one, and not without Mention of Blood. He dream'd *Minerva*, whom he worship'd even to Superstition, went out of her Fane, declaring she cou'd defend him no longer, because she was disarm'd by *Jupiter*. But nothing affected him so much as the Answer of *Asclepiario* the Astrologer, and the Event which befel him. He was accus'd before *Domitian*, and did not deny his having divulg'd what he had foreseen by his Art; and being ask'd what End wou'd attend himself, and replying he shou'd shortly be torne in Pieces by Dogs, he was order'd to be executed immediately, and to discover the Vanity of his Profession, to be instantly reduc'd to Ashes. But it happen'd that a sudden Storm throwing down the Pile, the Dogs fell upon the Body half-burnt, and tore it. And *Latinus* the Mimick, who happen'd to observe it as he pass'd by, among other Stories of the Day which he play'd before him, represented this Accident to him as he was at Supper.

16. The Day before he was kill'd, speaking to have some Mushrooms which were presented him, set aside for the Morrow, he added, *If indeed I may be allow'd to use them*; and turning to those about him, assur'd them, *It wou'd come to pass, that the Moon entring Aquarius the next Day, wou'd besmear her self with Blood, and a Deed be perpetrated, which shou'd become the Discourse of the whole World.* And about Midnight he was so terrify'd, that he leap'd out of Bed. After which, in the Morning an *Aruspex* out of Germany, who when he was consulted concerning the Thunder, had foretold an Alteration of Affairs, being brought before him, after he had heard him he condemn'd him to Death. And scratching an ulcerated Wart upon his Forehead pretty hard, and the Blood running down, *I wish*, says he, *it wou'd end here*.

here. Inquiring then what Hour it was, instead of the fifth, which he was afraid of, they told him the sixth on purpose. At this he was overjoy'd, as if the Danger was past; and making haste to bathe and dress, *Parthenius*, his chief Chamberlain, took him aside, pretending there was one who had something to communicate of the last Importance, which admitted of no Delay. The Company therefore being all sent off, he withdrew to his Chamber, and was murder'd there

17. Concerning the Manner of the Conspiracy and Murder, the common Report is this: The Conspirators being irresolute when and how they shou'd attack him, that is, whether in the Bath or at Supper; *Stephanus*, *Domitilla's* Steward, who had then embezzel'd several Summs of Money, offer'd them his Advice and Assistance. To remove all Suspicion he swath'd up his left Arm in Wool, as if it had been hurt, and wore it in a Scarf, in which he conceal'd a Dagger against the appointed Hour; and undertaking to discover a certain Conspiracy to him, and being thus admitted into the Chamber, as *Domitian* was reading a Paper which he had deliver'd to him, with Astonishment, he stabb'd him into the Groin; and upon his making a Resistance after the Blow, *Clodius* the Commander of a Wing, and *Maximus* a Freedman of *Parthenius's*, and *Saturius* an Officer of the Household, with a certain Fellow belonging to the Gladiators, finish'd him with seven Wounds. A Boy, who according to Custom look'd after the *Lares* of the Chamber, and was therefore present at the Murder, reported farther, that at the first Stroke *Domitian* bad him reach him a Dagger which lay under his Pillow, and call in his Servants; but he found nothing there but the Hilt, and the Doors were all lock'd; and that the Emperor closing in with *Stephanus*, threw him down, and struggled with him a long time, sometimes endeavouring to wrest his Weapon from him, and sometimes, tho' his Fingers were hack'd and mangled, to thrust out his Eyes.



Eyes. He was kill'd the fourteenth of the Kalends of *October*, in the forty-fourth Year of his Age and the fifteenth of his Reign. His Body was carry'd out upon a common Bier by the ordinary Bearers, and his Nurse *Phillis* burnt it at her Country-House in the *Latian* Way, and privately convey'd the Relicks into the Temple of the *Flavian* Family, and mingled them with the Ashes of *Titus's* Daughter *Julia*, whom she had also bred up.

18. His Stature was tall, his Countenance modest and fresh-colour'd, his Eyes large, but short-sighted: He was also handsome, especially in his Youth, and well proportion'd in all Parts of his Body except his Feet, of which his Toes were very short. His Baldness in time became a Deformity to him, and the Protuberancy of his Belly and the \* Goutiness of his Legs; but these were afterwards reduc'd by a long Sickness which befel him. He was so sensible of his being admir'd for his graceful Aspect, that he proudly told the Senate once, *Thus far ye have had a Proof both of my Mind and my Looks*. And his Baldness gave him so much Disturbance, that if the same Circumstance was objected to any one else, either in Jest or Reproach, he took it as a Reflection on himself: Tho' in a small Treatise he wrote to a Friend concerning the Management of the Hair, he inserted this Passage for his Friend's Consolation and his own,

† 'Ουχ' ὀργᾶς εἶθ' καὶ γὰρ καλὸς τιμέσασε.

Seest thou not how my happy Features shine,  
With pleasing Grace, and Vigour Masculine?

My

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\* *Lat. Crurum Gracilitate. The Word Gracilitate is reasonably rejected by the Criticks, and Gravitare supply'd; and the Pronoun quæ which follows, and the Verb remacruerant, may refer to the Obesitas Ventris and Crurum Gravitas.*

† *Homer, Il. 21.*

*My Locks must also undergo the same Fate ; and I patiently bear my Hair's growing old even in my Youth. For know, there is nothing more pleasing than Beauty, nor of shorter Duration.*

19. Being impatient of Labour, he seldom walk'd thro' the City on Foot, and very rarely rode on Horseback in an Expedition or a March, but was generally carry'd in a Litter. He had no Inclination to Arms, but was mightily addicted to Archery ; and many have seen him kill a hundred Wild Beasts of various Sorts, several times in the *Albane Grove*, with his Arrows, which he wou'd purposely fix so on some of their Heads, that at two Shoots he wou'd plant as it were a Pair of Horns upon them. Sometimes also he made a Boy stand at a Distance, and holding up his Hand for a Mark with his Fingers spread out, he directed his Shafts so skilfully, as to lodge them between Finger and Finger without hurting him.

20. At the Beginning of his Reign he neglected the Liberal Studies, tho' he took Care at a vast Expence to restore the Libraries which were ruin'd by Fire, procuring Copies from all Parts, and sending Persons to *Alexandria* to transcribe and correct them. Yet he never employ'd any Pains to understand either History or Poetry, or even to obtain a tolerable Style for common Use. Beside the Commentaries and Acts of *Tiberius Cæsar*, he read Nothing, and had his Epistles and Orations and Edicts drawn by another. Yet his Discourse was not inelegant, and his Sayings were sometimes well turn'd ; as, *I wish I was as handsome as Metius thinks himself to be.* And a certain Person's Head of Hair which was partly yellow and white, he call'd, *Mead mix'd with Snow* ; and \* *the Condition of Princes, he said, was most miserable ;*  
for

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\* *There cannot be a more just Reflection in Politicks than this, the People being generally apt to suspect a Conspiracy*

*for People wou'd not believe they had discover'd a Conspiracy, unless they were kill'd.*

24. In his idle Hours, he diverted himself with gaming at the Dye, even upon † ordinary Days, and in the Morning. He bath'd every Day, and made a full Dinner, so that he seldom eat any thing at Supper, except a *Matian* Apple, with a small Draught out of a Vial. He gave frequent Feasts, and very rich, but his Meals were generally short; at least, he never began after Sunset, nor continu'd at Table beyond that Hour. For till Bed-time he did nothing but walk in some private Place alone.

22 Being extravagantly given to Lust, he call'd his continual acting it, *Clinopales*, as if it had been a sort of Exercise. There was a Report as if he smooth'd his Concubines himself, and us'd to swim among a Company of the most ordinary Strumpets. Having, while he was espous'd to *Domitia*, utterly refus'd his Brother's Daughter, who was offer'd him when a Virgin; he not long after corrupted her when she was marry'd to another, even while *Titus* was living; and when she had lost her Father and Husband, he lov'd her openly with the most ardent Passion; so that he is thought to have been the Cause of her Death, by forcing her to \* miscarry of her Conception.

23. The

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*to be a Finesse of Princes, to furnish themselves with a specious Occasion of taking off any Persons they dislike or fear: And therefore Princes are under an unhappy Dilemma, either to expose themselves to this Suspicion of their Subjects, if they crush a Conspiracy early while it is just form'd and is not publickly notorious, or to run the last Hazard by suffering it to make some Progress before they suppress it, and then perhaps it may be out of their Power.*

† This was contrary to the Custom, and was the Sign of an idle and dissolute Person. See p. 120.

\* Believing it was by her late Husband.



23. The People bore his Death with Indifference, but the Soldiers took it with the utmost Affliction, and endeavour'd to get the Style of *Divus* immediately conferr'd upon him ; being ready also to revenge him, if they had not wanted Leaders : But they did it soon after, fiercely demanding the Authors of the Murder to be punish'd. On the contrary the Senate was so overjoy'd at it, that they crouded to the House in Heaps, and cou'd not forbear lashing him now dead with the most contumelious and bitter Expressions ; and order'd Ladders to be brought in, and his Shields and Images taken down before their Face, and dash'd against the Stones : Lastly they decreed his Titles shou'd be eras'd in all Parts, and his Memory utterly abolish'd. A few Months before he was kill'd, a Raven spoke in the Capitol, and said, *Ἐσσι πάντα καλῶς*, *All Things will be well*. Nor was one wanting who interpreted the Omen thus :

*Nuper Tarpeio quæ sedit culmine Cornix,  
Est bene, non potuit dicere, dixit, Erit.*

The Raven perch'd on the *Tarpeian* Hill,  
Cou'd not say, 'Tis, but said, *It will be well*.

And they say *Domitian* dream'd himself, that a Bunch of Golden Flesh grew out behind his Neck, and believ'd firmly, that a more happy and flourishing State of the Republick after his Death was portended ; which came to pass indeed in a little while, by the abstinence and Moderation of the following Princes.

*F I N I S.*



# THE CONTENTS OF THE LIVES.

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## I.



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**JULIUS CÆSAR** made Priest of Jupiter at Seventeen Years old. Page 1

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## II.

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